THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

Volume 7 August, 1925 Number 8

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

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World of Labour :: Book Review

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A New Magazine of International Trade Unionism

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NOTES of the MONTH

A Fight for Life—England's Decline—A Swift Attack—Dropping the Mask—The Owners' Terms—"Can We Fight?"—The Economic Situation—Capital's Dilemma—Colonial "Quick Returns"—Reformist Game Up—China—Beyond Imperialism—Our Duty to China—Labour Party and Socialism—Right Wing Retreat—The "English" School of Socialism—Final Surrender—Working Class Socialism—United Class Advance—Miners Under Fire—The Crucial Case—Standing by the Miners—Imperial Gravestones—Workers, Unite!

A GRIM struggle is beginning. The workers are faced with the heaviest attack since the beginning of the working-class movement. Behind that attack lies a revolution in economic conditions. The decline of British capitalist industry is dragging down into the depths the millions of workers dependent upon it. A process as cruel and merciless as the Industrial Revolution is taking place—and once again these conditions of suffering are the accompaniment of a transition from an old order to a new. A century ago the rising power was the Industrial bourgeoisie. Today the only rising power which alone can reorganise the economic structure is the Proletariat: but the consciousness of the new tasks is only being driven home with cruel lessons. The British bourgeoisie, in its hour of decay, is more and more shifting its basis of profit to the exploitation of the non-European workers, and from this basis seeking to drive the British workers to sweated conditions. To this deadly process there is no end save the Conquest of Industry by the workers. The struggle that is now beginning is more than a simple wage-fight which can reach an easy or rapid ending. It is a fight for life, which can only go on, however protracted and with however many ups and downs, until it reaches its goal in the Workers' Revolution.

WORLD conditions of capitalist development, as the Marxists long ago foretold, have forced forward this struggle, have shattered the old favoured conditions of the British workers, and have thereby shattered the whole basis of

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the old reformist sectionalist happy-go-lucky movement. Is the British working class ready for the struggle in front? This question is no longer at issue. Ready or unready, the struggle is here and will have to be faced. It is useless to-day to lament the failures of the past or the inherited handicaps of the British movement. The workers will have to improvise their means of fighting, and find their unity, whether through the Alliance or otherwise, in the struggle. It is to the credit of the movement that a group of leaders has stood forth even at the eleventh hour to essay the herculean task of uniting the working-class forces for the battle in front. Whether they will succeed in their task is still in doubt. All the capitalist influences in the movement are obstructing the urgent need of unity in action, and have already imposed ruinous delays. It is probable that few have even yet realised the full magnitude of the struggle in front. Never was there such need of every ounce of nerve and energy to save the situation against the enemies without and within.

WITH relentless swiftness the owners have delivered their attack, as soon as it became clear that the June 4 Conference had failed to produce any immediate Alliance. The sequence of events is so plain that none can fail to see it. For months, while the miners and railwaymen were slowly preparing their demands, the owners played for time. Soft words and blarney, Baldwin's pipings, Joint Conferences were the watchword of the hour. "Our terms? We believe no good purpose would be served by stating them yet." Then came the hesitations of the Blackpool Conference. There followed June 4: polite lip service to the principle of unity, ill-concealed opposition to its practice, no plan for the urgent need of the hour. A short delay to make sure of the position; on June 16 the first meeting of the Committee, and still no plan, no decision, no readiness. At once, as we feared last month would happen, as soon as the results of the June 4 Conference became clear, the owners decided the moment was ripe. Like two heavy blows aimed with unhesitating precision came the simultaneous declarations of war from the railway companies and the coalowners. "Gentlemen, the parley is at an end. Here is our ultimatum."

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"WHEN we recall," declared Herbert Smith, "what has happened in the past few months, when we realise that, in spite of all this joint investigation, the owners had up their sleeve all the time the card they have now played, we begin to wonder whether the inquiry was entered on with any serious intention of getting at the truth, or whether it was merely considered as a means of keeping us in play until the owners chose to take the offensive." Well said. That is at any rate a recognition after the event. If some members of the Miners' Executive may have hesitated before, despite the lessons of 1919, they should at any rate now have a clear realisation of the enemy they have to face.

WHAT do the owners' terms mean? They mean in the first place a staggering reduction of wages for men already thrown on to a bitter and desperate starvation level. "Our people cannot live on lower wages," says Robert Smillie with the terrible stark simplicity of truth. The Coal Lords, drawing their tens of thousands in income for themselves, think otherwise. They think that the miners of Lancashire, strong and brave men, spending their health, their strength and their lives in dangerous, body-breaking labour for the profits and soft incomes of these lords, shall live themselves, their wives and their children on 27s. 11d., present money values. They propose that the miners of Northumberland shall come to 34s. 5d. This is assuming the same number of shifts are still worked. Abolish the last remains of the National Minimum. Make profits the first charge. Let Mammon be enthroned and worshipped. Throw the heaviest drops upon the poorest districts. It is doubtful if a more fiendish document has ever been presented by any set of owners in the present generation. Every sentence of it drips with the philosophy of Capitalism.

CAN we fight? Ask some of the hesitating leaders of the right wing. Can we do anything but fight? is the only answer. Is there any prospect of any improvement in the economic situation under capitalism? Is there any prospect of any help in any quarter save from the workers' own strength? Do all

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the little bustlings of the Labour Party in Parliament when there is a crisis, the little questions and appeals and votes of censure, make a halfpennyworth of difference to the realities of the situation? If the Labour Party stood forth as the leader of the working class in struggle, it would be another question. But at present the leaders of the Labour Party are acting as clogs on the workers' struggle—like Clynes "frankly admitting" that the workers have no chance, or Thomas preaching the "danger on either side" of a fight and "their responsibility to the community," and both repeating (their masters' voice) the hideous hypocrisy of "sacrifice all round." Such men are enemies: and their repetition of the capitalists' picture of the melancholy economic situation is nothing but capitalist propaganda. To the workers, who can see the facts plainly, the realities of the economic situation are nothing but a spur to the need for decisive and energetic action.

TO those who hesitate we would recommend consideration of the recent statement of the President of the Board of Trade on the economic situation. His review of trade prospects from the capitalist point of view brought out two big facts of importance to the workers. The first is that in present-day England the most prosperous trades are the luxury trades and the supernumerary trades. The basic industries are all depressed. His gloomy reports were of: Coal, exports down by 25 per cent.; Pig Iron, production down by 33 per cent.; Steel, same as pre-war, but on a basis of much greater producing power; Shipbuilding, a "bad position"; Cotton, "dwindling." His good reports were: Motors, "booming"; Cycles, "doing well"; Electrical Supply, "very prosperous"; Rubber, "a bright spot"; Chemicals, "on the upgrade"; Silk, "on the upgrade." Motors, cycles, silk, rubber, chemicals—a country cannot live on these. It is a picture of the decay of the metropolis of a vast imperial system, living on exploitation, and casting the workers of its basic industries on to the scrapheap.

AND the explanation? The explanation furnished by the President of the Board of Trade was that "every country had far greater industrial capacity than before, but in a far poorer world." He omitted to add that a great part of that

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increased industrial capacity was being financed by British capital, and was bringing increased profits to the British bourgeoisie, at the same time as it was throwing British workers out of work, and giving the British bourgeoisie their means of affording the stimulus to the luxury trades. But consider the picture given by this "explanation." Increased productive power on every side—and increased poverty. This is no longer the "wild" and "fanciful" prediction of a Karl Marx. It is the sober statement of a President of the Board of Trade. Is this an "inevitable" calamity like some natural evil of drought or pestilence, to be borne with patient suffering and "sacrifices all round" by capitalists and workers alike? Or is it not clamorous evidence that the evil is precisely the capitalist class control of industry, and that any policy which helps to maintain and perpetuate that is helping to maintain and perpetuate the evil?

BUT the second part of the speech of the President of the Board of Trade is even more important, for in it he comes to the capitalist remedy. The colonial policy of British capitalism is here stated with brutal frankness. After outlining briefly the sole remedy for the salvation of British capitalism as the "Development of the Empire" (*i.e.*, transference of capitalist exploitation increasingly outside Britain), and touching on the question of development in the Dominions, he dwelt with especial emphasis on the Slave Empire—the Crown Colonies—as the principal future field.

> It was of tremendous importance that we should develop our Crown Colonies. *The duties of administration and the interests of British industry marched hand in hand and it was to these colonies that he looked for the quickest return, commercially and industrially, for any money we had to invest.*

Here is stated in plain terms the policy of investing British capital, won from the exploitation of the British workers, in the forced labour and plantations of the despotically governed Crown Colonies as the means to secure "the quickest return" for the parasites in the City of London. The experience of India has shown that it is only a step from the development of a colony as a base of

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raw materials to its development as a centre of industrial production utilising those raw materials, without the cost of freight, on a basis of cheap labour. The "quickest return" of Imperial policy for the British bourgeoisie is quick ruin for the British workers.

IT is useless to lament this situation, or endeavour to meet it with quack remedies. In economic development there is no retreat. It is not possible to control the operations of capitalism while power rests with the capitalist class. Within capitalism 10 per cent. will always beat 5 per cent. This mighty truth is more powerful for capitalism than all the flags, laws, parties and patriotism in the world. To imagine that a puny measure of excluding sweated goods from Britain will make a halfpennyworth of difference to the conditions of the world market and world capitalist development is infantile. It is necessary to face facts plainly. The old isolated position of the one-time "aristocracy of labour" in Britain is smashed for good. The reformist game is up. Henceforth the future of the British workers is bound up with the workers overseas, with the direct struggle for the overthrow of British capitalism, with the international revolution. This is the basic meaning of the transformation of the British situation. To fall short of recognising this is to give a misleading picture and an illusory leadership.

THE new situation is revealed by the struggle in China. The struggle in China is important to the British workers, not because we take a liberal paternal philanthropic interest, from our superior height, in improving the "conditions" of the Chinese factory workers, but because the Chinese masses are our brothers in arms, fighting our common fight, the fight of all humanity, against the imperialist exploiters. Every blow that they strike against the British exploiters we welcome and applaud as a blow struck in our own fight. We do not share the hypocritical attitude of the Labour representatives in Parliament, who speak of a "common purpose" with Baldwin and the first necessity of "protecting British lives," which means in fact using guns and bayonets to maintain the stranglehold of the British opium lords

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and sweaters in China. We have no patience for the contemptible dishonesty of the Second International resolution, which coolly warns the Chinese workers against the dangers of " Asiatic nationalism " (let them look to their own Chauvinism, Pan-Germanism and Jingoism first, before they dare to attack the nationalism of a subject and enslaved nation). The General Council has spoken for the British workers in declaring their absolute comradeship with the Chinese workers in the struggle against British arms.

THE example of China has lit up the world situation as it is to-day. The relation of the British workers to the Chinese struggle is very important. We are here at a turning point of history. In Morocco, in Turkey, in China the same thing is visible : the ebb of European capitalist-imperialist expansion has begun ; the latest subjected nations are the first finding their way to freedom. In this critical period great care is needed. On the closest union of the European working class, involving their completest disassociation from their European masters, with the colonial liberation movements, which contain within them the seeds of social liberation movements—on this basis of alliance, welded together in the common struggle against imperialism, depend the sure foundations of world peace and world economic co-operation in the future, arising and built up on the ruins of the imperialist period. Without this co-operation, if the Western European workers allow themselves to become identified with their imperialist masters, heavy dangers loom in front, of racial wars, of economic dislocation, of the starvation of large numbers of the European workers and of the re-birth of new forms of capitalism for a further period in Asia and Africa and the New World.

FOR this reason, in the midst of all our " home " issues, the struggle in China, as well as in Morocco and elsewhere, is of intense importance to us. It is important that we should learn to play our part as true allies, steer clear of the liberal-philanthropic veiled imperialist agitations that lead nowhere, and learn to concentrate on the issues that matter. It is not enough to agitate on labour conditions, or call for the withdrawal of the notorious extra-territorial privileges. This also the American

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imperialists, who are endeavouring to utilise the present crisis to out-manœuvre the British hold on China, are ready to take up in profession. What matters is that the present grip on China is being maintained by British soldiers, marines, guns and bayonets. To get these off China is our first duty. This is the one practical demand and practical work that tests real help. We are sorry that the joint resolution of the General Council and Labour Party Executive appears to have made no reference to the withdrawal of troops. It is to be hoped that this may be put right in whatever emergency resolution may be adopted at the Special Trades Union Congress. The complete withdrawal of all British forces and garrisons from China—this is the only possible position for the British working class. We need to learn from the splendid example of our French comrades in relation to the Moroccan War of Liberation. The stand of the French workers over Morocco, the stand of the British workers over China, are of great significance, and herald the beginning of a new period in world history. The struggle of the miners, and the struggle of the Chinese workers, are parts of a single struggle.

THE isolation of the British workers is over. The reformist game is up. It is significant that just at this moment the Labour Party Executive has formally recognised the new situation and hauled down the flag of Socialism. The new programme of Reform and Reconstruction which they have drawn up is the final surrender to capitalist imperialism and alienation from the working class. Even the I.L.P. organ has protested against its imperialist character. Every trace of Socialism has been systematically wiped out. Nationalisation is gone. Even Nationalisation of the Mines and Railways is gone. The Capital Levy is buried. What is the meaning of this change? Why this surrender at the moment when the struggle is becoming more acute, when the desperate situation is imperatively demanding bolder measures, when the workers are demanding stronger leadership? The answer goes to the root of the new situation. It is just because the class struggle is becoming more acute, that even the simplest measures of Socialism now take on a revolutionary significance. The Labour Party as a party of class peace can no longer maintain even the

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simplest proposals of Socialism. The Executive's new programme is simply the logical outcome of the path they have been travelling, away from the class struggle and therefore away from Socialism. Despite all the preachings of their theorists, Socialism and the class struggle are henceforth indissolubly linked in England. Whether the new programme will be accepted or rejected by the Labour Party Conference will have an important bearing on the immediate future of the Labour Party. But it is already clear that the British workers are travelling a different path, the path of Class Struggle, of International Solidarity and of the Working Class Revolution. Our answer to the economic chaos is the Socialist answer, which only the workers can put in force.

THE right wing leaders are cowering before the economic situation, just as in every revolutionary period the right wing Socialists have always cowered before the "chaos and anarchy" and retreated full tilt into the capitalist camp, instead of realising that these conditions are the very signal of the revolutionary period and the call to decisive action. They see only the ruin in front, because they see only through capitalist spectacles. They see only the perishing of their golden palace of dreams, their easy reforms and evolutionary Socialism. Their thin film of "Socialism" slips from them like a garment, because they have never faced the meaning of the real break with capitalism, and are, therefore, left helpless in servility to capitalism. They can only see the economic situation in terms of trade returns. And so, in the moment of the testing time of real Socialism and leadership, they can only come out with cries of panic, of impotence and retreat. In a revealing article in the *Daily Herald*, significantly entitled "Are we thinking hard enough?" one of their number, C. T. Cramp, has come out with a confession of the bankruptcy of the right wing. He has just discovered for the first time the commonplaces of Marxism forty years ago about the inevitable decline of British industrial monopoly, and he is startled and non-plussed at the consequences for the working-class movement. He writes :—

> We have been so accustomed to regard Great Britain as the workshop of the world that it seemed quite the normal thing for her to produce and export abroad the greater part of the world's manufactured

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> commodities or of its requirements in the shape of coal. It was therefore assumed that by the abolition of the capitalist class, and the assumption of power and possession by the working class, nothing more would be required to secure a sufficiency of the necessaries and comforts of life consistent with latter-day standards.

THIS innocent statement, with its unconscious assumption of monopolist exploitation and imperialism continuing under "Socialism," which is regarded as a simple readjustment to benefit the British labour aristocracy in accordance with "latter-day standards," deserves to stand as a classic statement of the "English" School of Socialism. But now this world has fallen with a crash. Mr. Cramp writes:—

> Capitalism in Great Britain is passing away. I believe it will disappear in ways which were not anticipated by those who first raised the standard of Socialism.

Not anticipated by Webb, Shaw, MacDonald and the English School of Socialism, he should have said; but very strongly anticipated by Marxism. What, then, is the conclusion? Does he recognise the Marxist outlook and the rôle of the international class struggle? Not at all. His conclusion is the inevitable outcome of the English School of Socialism, which, in its hurry to be "practical" and "English," forgot to free the minds of its disciples from the simplest preconceptions of Capitalism. He writes:—

> I think we have to ask ourselves whether, given a Workers' Republic, given in fact the realisation of all our slogans, we should be able to deliver the goods.

HERE is the final surrender. This unhappy leader has so bemused his mind with capitalist economic propaganda that he actually believes it is impossible—yes, impossible—with all the increased powers of production, "given the realisation of all our slogans" (*i.e.*, the world workers' republic), to organise production to supply human needs. Or, even taking Socialism in his own narrow limited sphere, he believes the capitalist burden on industry is so light in this country, and its organisation so perfect, that a national organisation of industry on a Socialist basis would not appreciably alter the efficiency of industry or be able to win a

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decent living for the workers during the transition period. Here is a picture of the effect of capitalist propaganda on the chairman of the Labour Party. We are witnessing the collapse of the English School of Socialism (whose existence was bound up with the supremacy of English capitalism).

AT this moment more than ever before there is need of strength and firmness. Not the retreat from Socialism, but the advance on Socialism, is the line of direction of the working class. The present economic situation can only be handled at all by handling it boldly. The miners are absolutely right when they declare that only nationalisation can assist to tackle the economic problems of the coal industry. The railwaymen are absolutely right when they declare that only nationalisation can put the railways on a sound basis. The facts of daily bread force them precisely in the direction from which the Labour Party Executive, which does not wish to face the class struggle, is retreating. But it is necessary to recognise what this involves. The question of nationalisation is not a question of an ultimate ideal organisation of industry. It is a question of a direct conflict between Profits and Wages. The same reason that drives the Labour Party right wing away from nationalisation drives the workers towards it. The coalowners declare that a living wage is incompatible with profits. The miners can only answer that profits are incompatible with a living wage. In the decay of British capitalist industry the wage struggle necessarily involves the attack on profits and raises the question of the conquest of industry. But this in its turn raises the question of united class action for power. In the present period the "conservative" Trade Unions inevitably begin to assume a revolutionary rôle, at the same time that the class-peace Socialists are retreating from all their positions. Socialism in Britain becomes visibly and clearly only having meaning as the expression of the class struggle.

THE line of retreat, which is the line of the right wing, leads to no recovery, to no hope of recovery (for the objective economic conditions under capitalism preclude it), but only to further decline, to lower and yet lower wages, to the

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decay and rotting of slow starvation. The line of advance, on the other hand, can only be the line of a united class advance. The economic basis of the old sectional Trade Unionism is gone. On the old lines, the right wing leaders are correct in saying that the situation is " unfavourable " for a conflict. What they fail to realise is that the more they retreat because of the unfavourable situation, the more unfavourable the situation will become. The dilemma is due to the initial error of regarding the situation in capitalist terms of sectional commercial interests, and not in terms of class strategy. They are right in saying that the united class advance will necessarily involve an attack on the existing capitalist control and organisation of industry. This is precisely the reason why the united class advance is the right strategy. The Workers' Alliance, however organised, is the inevitable next step of the British working class. This is clear to every thinking Trade Unionist. But the urgency of the question is that this step, which has to overcome the entrenched conservatism, individualism and capitalist corruption inherited from the old movement, is necessitated by a situation which is changing at terrific speed and allows of no reprieve for delay. It is a fight against time.

THE miners' struggle is the central and supreme issue of the British working class at the present moment. It is not a question of a sectional struggle, which it would be in any case the plain duty of other sections to support. A battle of very much wider significance and of desperate urgency is being fought over the mines. The miners are to-day the advance-guard of the British working class in a new sense. They are occupying the most central and the most exposed position in the new economic situation and the new conditions facing the British workers. If they go under, the outlook for the whole class becomes desperate. For what is happening to the miners is only an advance version of what is hanging over every basic industry in England. For reasons, partly common to other industries, but affecting coal most strongly (Reparations coal, Versailles and the Dawes Report ; expansion of African output by half since the war, and of Asiatic and Australasian by a quarter), partly technical and peculiar to the coal

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problem (displacement of coal by other sources of power dispensing with or economising coal), the heaviest brunt of the decline has fallen on the coalminers. But it would be criminal folly to imagine that the fate of the other industries is not bound up with that of coal, and that the same problems are not ultimately facing them. To leave the miners to their fate would be class suicide.

IT is a terrible process that is taking place. The best, the strongest, the most highly organised, the most militant and class-conscious section of the working class is being ground down before the eyes of the rest. Four years of starvation ; hundreds of thousands thrown out of the pits ; pits closing down ; no prospect of recovery in front ; and then the deadly blows of the new attacks, with the old weapon of the monopoly power to bargain lost and broken, and nothing left but the struggle of desperation. And all the while the rest of the workers are compelled to look on passive ; the help that is needed, and that they could give, and would readily give if they had the chance, is checked and delayed and prevented by a thousand doubts and obstructions and intrigues. " We have our own system of negotiations." " We must follow our own machinery." " The problems of our own section of industry must receive our attention first." This is the very language of capitalism. If this could happen, then the British working class would be doomed, and would deserve to be ; for to a movement soaked with the sectional individualism of capitalist philosophy, the only end could be common ruin with their masters. But this cannot happen : the will to unity of the workers, which is already aboundingly strong and evident, will triumph over every obstacle.

THIS is certain. Unless the workers act, there will be no help for the miners. For what is happening to the miners is nothing but the normal process of capitalism. What will happen to the miners, what will be the fate of the hundreds of thousands who will be thrown out of the pits with the inevitability of an economic process, and with no training or opening for other work, is nobody's concern under capitalism, any more than the fate of the old craftsmen thrown out by machinery was any one's concern. Capitalism is nothing but social anarchy : the right of

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the economically strongest (which has nothing to do with personal merits and demerits), and the driving of the weakest to the wall. Sympathy there may be and sentimental tears ; but there can be no help on capitalist lines, because there is no social organisation of work, and therefore no control of natural processes and transitions. What the miners get will depend entirely on what the united working class can extract from the united capitalist class. A living wage for every miner ; continuous employment for every miner at present in the industry, and shortening of hours, if necessary ; free vocational training for the miners' children ; these demands can and must be won, and the means to meet them exist in the surplus of the capitalist class. To leave the miners to struggle alone in their present difficult position is a repetition of capitalism : never was there more need of working-class solidarity.

TO the owners it is of no concern what happens to the miners. They are able to maintain their profits on decreased production, as elsewhere in British industry ; and the fat dividends of every important colliery company give the lie to their shameless pretence of not a penny of profits. They can prepare for their own protection against the future decline, and increasingly transfer their new capital and investments to other fields all over the world. The incomes of the British capitalist class remain high, and higher than ever, in the midst of the decline of British industry. Why ? Because they are strongly based on the imperialist exploitation of one-quarter of the world. This is the strong base which enables the British capitalists to face the workers in the home country and drive them down to lower wages. And this is the bitter irony of the newly discovered imperialist lesson which the Labour Party politicians are learning to repeat from their capitalist masters. The strongest weapon of the British capitalists against the workers is their financial-capitalist military organisation of the Empire—the Empire which Kirkwood loves and is helping them to strengthen and cement, while the workers of his own country starve. Kirkwood, Kirkwood, what of the sweated workers of England and Scotland ? What of the sweated workers of the mining industry ? Kirkwood ! *Your cement of Empire is the cement on the gravestones of the dead bodies of the English workers.*

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TO the workers of England there is only one message—Fight! Fight as you have never fought before. The shades of hell are closing in. The economic future under capitalism is black without hope. Already the leaders of the Right are showing the white feather. The utterance of Cramp, the new programme of the Labour Party Executive, are straws that show the wind. Their way, the way of retreat, can only lead to slow starvation. There is no future for England under capitalism save decline, parasitism and war. The time of trial, the most critical period in the history of the British working class, is beginning. The first stage came in 1921. The second stage has come now in 1925. In each case the centre of the struggle has been the miners. In each case the decisive issue of the struggle has been the unity of the workers in the fight with capitalism. In 1921 unity failed, and four years of agony have shown the consequence. That unity shall not fail again is the supreme need. The signals are sounding clearly to the British working class. There is no future for England under capitalism. The future is with the united working class.

R. P. D.

A Note on the New Leader *and Fascism appears on the following page.*

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THE "NEW LEADER" AND FASCISM

We have received a note of correction from Mr. Brailsford with regard to our reference last month to the New Leader, *at the time of the Fascist Counter-Revolution, recommending that "we must welcome Fascism half way." The facts which we summarise from Mr. Brailsford's letter, are as follows :—*

(1) The *New Leader* published on November 10, 1922, an article from Odon Por which does contain a phrase almost identical with the one quoted. In this article Odon Por argued that Mussolini was really a Guild Socialist.

(2) This article was preceded by an editorial disclaimer which declared that "this tendency in the Italian Labour world to acquiesce in Fascism reflects nothing more than its own sense of defeat," and that the editor "could not believe in this immense transformation" nor in the constructive capacity of Fascism.

(3) In the two subsequent issues of the *New Leader*, Mr. Brailsford wrote of Fascism that "no one can review its record and doubt that Mussolini has simply fulfilled the orders of the big business men who financed him" (November 17) : and of Mussolini that "I confess myself impatient of the predictions that he will show himself some unorthodox kind of Socialist" (November 24), &c., &c.

We gladly publish this correction and regret the unintentional error of memory in ascribing to the New Leader *the sentiments of their Italian correspondent. We believe, however, that it remains a very serious thing indeed, at the moment of Counter-Revolution, when the right wing leaders in this country were already acclaiming its success, for the leading organ of the largest Socialist Party in England to publish a direct and open White article, and accompany it by no more than a mild editorial note of polite scepticism ("could not believe in this immense transformation"). If this is the New Leadership in the face of the workers' most desperate struggle and direct enemy, then God help the workers!*—Ed. LABOUR MONTHLY.

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THE STRATEGY OF THE MINERS' STRUGGLE

By HERBERT SMITH

President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain

IS there a crisis in the mining industry? It is necessary to ask this question because we have had so many false alarms in the past that amongst the other workers there is now and then a tendency to doubt how far these recurrent crises are real. The answer then to the question is: Yes. There is a crisis, the biggest crisis with which the industry has yet been confronted. The crisis is both economic and political. On the economic side it is of such magnitude that at the acute stage reached by the middle of July 320,000 miners are unemployed: while in the impending struggle between the mine owners and the miners the condition of acute crisis is equally evident. In a word, it is the biggest crisis with which the mining industry has been faced within the memory of those now living.

What is the Crisis?

What is the nature of the crisis? Its nature is threefold. In the first place it is a world crisis, a crisis caused by the shrinkage in the world's consumption of coal. This is the economic crisis.

In the second place it is a crisis caused by the conflict between the owners and the mine workers. This conflict arises because they cannot agree on the remedies for the world crisis. But lastly, and looming behind both the economic crisis of this last year and the immediate struggle of this month, there is a predetermining cause. This cause is nothing less than a technical revolution in the world's sources of power. The old method of burning raw coal for steam-raising is giving place on the one hand to coal substitutes such as oil and water power or, on the other hand, to entirely new uses of coal. One way or another, these new powers are superseding the present uses of coal. Such a technical change as this, if controlled

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from the beginning, will be for the benefit of all. But we have had sufficient experience in the last hundred and fifty years of British capitalism to know that new productive forces, if uncontrolled, may work havoc with the lives and fortunes of millions of men.

The reason why I mention this greater change I will make plain before the end of this article. Meantime, for an understanding of the immediate position, it is necessary to concentrate on the immediate economic cause of the crisis. This, the shrinkage of coal consumption, is due to the continuing world crisis of capitalist production resulting from the war, varying in intensity from country to country. Symptoms of the crisis in production are the increased developments of other nations and the increased use of substitutes for coal. No country is exempt from this. Indeed, British coal production actually compares favourably with the rest of Europe.

What do the Owners say?

Faced by this enormous crisis, such as would tax all the energy and resourcefulness of the pioneers of capitalism in the time (long past) when capitalism was a productive force, what had our present lords of the mine and minerals beneath the earth put forward as a solution? Actually they did not attempt to face the problem. They assumed that this world cataclysm could all be focussed on the question of price. They argue in a purblind way that all that is wrong is that British costs of coal production are too high. They say that "if the cost of production is reduced it would solve the problem" and restore the British coal trade to the favourable position of 1913. That is to say, they are deliberately shutting their eyes to the real difficulties. Because, if they were to admit the full extent of the problem, then their darling desire, their pet remedy for everything —namely, to cut wages and lengthen hours—would be shown up as a hollow remedy. Nevertheless this is the stage reached by the representatives of British coal capitalism, that they are repeating the phrase "high cost of production" and are trying to stun and deafen the nation by this parrot cry into the belief that lower wages and longer hours will mend all.

Not only have they put forward this panacea publicly. But it is now clear from their conduct that the Joint Inquiry into the

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economic position of the coal industry which they induced us to enter upon was simply intended by them as a means of getting the miners to fall into a trap. When we chaps began to put forward our own tentative conclusions, they dropped the Inquiry like a hot brick.

Now the suggestion of longer hours is one that under no circumstances will be accepted by the miners. Similarly, the suggestion of lower wages is one that we cannot agree to. The collier's wage is far too low already. Therefore, the owners' cure-all of longer hours or lower wages is not merely ludicrous as a solution of the world's coal problem, but is also so unacceptable to the miners that it leads straight to deadlock. This deadlock between owners and men is the internal or political crisis of the industry.

What do the Miners say?

What is the attitude of the miners ? The Miners' Federation says first that the crisis is far greater than can be solved by any facile lowering of prices : second, that there is not one complete solution, but several partial solutions of the problem. These partial solutions if all taken together would go a long way.

Thus there is the recapture of the lost Russian market. Russia used to take some five million tons of coal. Last year our coal export was down about eleven millions from the pre-war level. Therefore half this loss could be recovered straight away. Of course it must be understood that the Soviet Union will not buy raw coal from Britain. But the Soviet Union will do something better. It is prepared to order coal in the shape of iron and steel goods (four tons of coal go to a ton of steel), a measure which would give employment both to British miners and British metal workers.

Again, there is the loss of exports through Reparations coal arrangements. Both the markets lost through Reparations and the lost Russian market could be recaptured if the Government were not under the influence of those who hate the Soviet Republics.

Lastly, there is the remedy of nationalisation. At the present moment the industry is burdened and choked by private capitalism. In every way, in coal production, in distribution, in the finances of the trade, private capitalism is the Old Man of the Sea, choking the productive forces. Watered capital, distributions of bonus shares,

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swollen dividends, waste and extravagance generally have played their part in bringing the industry to the present pass. Whatever our opinions may be, Socialist or non-Socialist, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that coal capitalism has become a parasitic growth that must be swept away. The high cost of production is the high cost of capitalism. But nationalisation does not only mean the disappearance of parasitic profit-making. It means the application of science to industry. It means immediate plans for super-power electricity stations (using coal power) for wide spread electricity, for low temperature carbonisation plants with their product of oil, smokeless fuel, &c., &c. And—this is important—all these bye products and subsidiary undertakings would be from the beginning reckoned as part of the coal industry.

These then are some of the solutions suggested by the miners. But the coal owners will have none of it. They cry ever more loudly, "lower costs of production!" They refuse to consider nationalisation. They refuse to have any truck with the unions, in the sense of Pit Committees as set forth in the Act of 1920. They refuse to allow new processes, *such as low carbonisation*, to be included in the ascertainments of the industry.

Finally they launch their attack, by giving notice to end the Agreement, and by submitting their infamous proposals for starving the miners.

The Owners' Demands and the Strategy Behind Them

The owners mean that whereas the colliers, in May last, were getting 62 per cent. above pre-war level when cost of living index stood at 73 per cent. above pre-war level, they would (assuming the cost of living index to stand at 70 per cent. this coming month) now receive 36 per cent. This I call starving the colliers. But there is more to it than that. The previously guaranteed minimum disappears: profits come first, wages come last. The National Agreement becomes shadowy and the real agreements are concluded district by district. This will arrest and turn back the gradual process of centralisation towards common agreements that has marked the growth of the Miners' Federation.

We have got to go behind these impossible demands, and see whether there is something to it. I would lay a wager the owners

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have been reckoning that if they do not get what they ask for, they may under cover of these demands get back the Eight Hour Day—or rather the Nine Hour Day as it works out in practice. They could afford to promise high wages if they drove the miners back to the old hours. It would be a great victory for them, the longer hours: and a great disaster for us. Wages they could drive down a few months later : but the glittering prize they have been hoping for now is the lengthening of hours. And we cannot let them have it.

There is still another motive behind these demands. It does not affect every owner, it does not affect every member of the Government. But I have not any doubt that a large number of them are moved by it. That motive is the desire to *teach the miners a lesson.* I know they are saying it, some of them, " Let us have an end of these strikes, and disputes, and troubles, once for all ! Let us give the miners, and the other damned Trade Unionists, something they will not forget ! And anyhow, *we shall be able to sell our stocks at a good price.*"

The Inevitable Struggle

All that I have written so far, about the world crisis, its extent, its nature, its causes ; about the owners' purblind policy of cutting wages or lengthening hours or both—a thing we will not stand ; about our own policy of nationalisation, of scientific reorganisation, and recapture of the markets lost by Reparations and hatred of Soviet Russia—a policy the owners stiffly refuse to consider—all these things have but one conclusion. That conclusion is that we have *got to fight.* Our back is up against the wall. We have no choice. On this the Federation Conference was absolutely and completely of one mind.

Nevertheless, though we miners are united on this, it is worth while to point out for the benefit of the readers of THE LABOUR MONTHLY (amongst whom are included many colliers) what would be the effect of a retreat. A retreat would mean starvation wages now, *followed by yet another cut six or nine months hence.* And other workers will begin to feel the draught. A retreat would mean the partial break up of the Miners' Federation, it would mean that the owners would be strong enough to compel the miners to cringe, to abandon all the forward policies of the past fifteen years, and for

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years to come to accept all reductions without a murmur. A retreat now might well prove a turning point not only for the miners but for the whole of British Trade Unionism. Fortunately there is no question of a retreat. I am not even arguing against it : for the simple reason that it has never been suggested. But I deal with it because I want our fellow Trade Unionists to realise that their lot is at stake along with ours ; and that in helping the miners, they will be doing so not for sentimental reasons, but for their own dear sakes as well.

The Miners' Allies

Since the owners have left us no choice but to fight, and since the Government appears also to be making preparations for hostilities, our last questions must simply be questions of strategy.

The main question of strategy is to weigh up the possible or actual allies of the Miners' Federation. The three most important working-class organisations that have to be considered under this heading are :—

(1) The International Miners' Federation.
(2) The Workers' Alliance.
(3) The General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

The International Miners' Federation has been in existence for thirty-five years : but it is only this summer that it has set up a secretariat distinct from the national organisations. This, however, is a great step in advance : and its meaning only becomes clear if it is understood that this particular development brings us much nearer the point where a European miners' strike is possible, if not a world miners' strike. Even at this moment we shall reckon on the French and Belgian miners coming into line with us in whatever action is forced upon us. In which case we must be ready to back them equally. From Germany unfortunately nothing like the same kind of action is to be expected : but within the limits set by the multiple agreements in which they are entangled, we may expect the German miners to do their duty to the International. The United States miners are themselves threatened. But it is not entirely easy to get the U.S.A. and the British positions on to parallel lines. But we look confidently to the Americans at least to see that no coal leaves the U.S.A. for Britain during a lockout. As

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regards other coal-fields in Europe, we know that the Russian miners (who are unfortunately not yet admitted to the International Miners' Federation) will do all that they can. We have a similar hope as regards other sections ; while in China and Japan the effect of the crisis here will perhaps rather be to benefit them than us. The crisis will push forward Trade Unionism amongst the miners of these countries : but since the interests of miners (and other workers) at bottom are identical all over the world such a development will benefit us also in the long run. To sum up, the International Miners' Federation we expect to play a bigger part (varying in importance from country to country) in this coming struggle than has ever been the case in the past.

But it is not yet possible to have a uniform world movement of the coal miners. Further, even if it were, the world stocks of coal amount to nigh a hundred million tons. So for both reasons we must consider what help can be got from other industries.

The Workers' Alliance was first discussed at the Conference on June 4, when a committee was appointed to work out a scheme. Six weeks later, on July 17, the situation had become more serious (or its seriousness had become more apparent and obvious) with the result that the proposed scheme submitted by Mr. Ernest Bevin on behalf of the sub-committee was favourably received by nearly everyone. That scheme is now remitted for consideration to the unions affected. However quickly they do this—and, to my mind, the quicker the better—this process must take time. So that as far as the beginning of August is concerned the Workers' Alliance cannot come into play directly. It may come in later. At the moment any action of the Trade Unions in the Workers' Alliance must take place through the Trades Union Congress.

But before we leave the proposed Workers' Alliance it should be made clear that the whole project hinges upon Clause 9 of the proposed constitution. Under Clause 9, the constituent unions bind themselves, in certain eventualities, to take their marching orders direct from the Alliance. If Clause 9 is not accepted, the Alliance is worth nothing to us miners.

But on the other hand, *if one single union accepts Clause 6, then the Alliance will be formed ; and the Miners' Federation will go forward with that one union.*

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For the moment, as I have said, the unions work through the General Council. The General Council has already published its manifesto in support of the miners and appointed a special sub-committee to consult with us. That sub-committee meets within a few days of these lines being written ; and I do not wish to prejudice any steps that may be taken as a result of that meeting. One thing, however, is perfectly clear. The present situation is serious for the whole of British Trade Unionism, not simply in the sense that the miners constitute with their families nearly one-tenth of the population ; but in the sense that whatever happens to the miners is bound to have an immediate reflex effect on the whole of heavy industry, and a more remote, but none the less definite, effect on all other industries. Therefore, sentiment apart, the General Council is certain to make the fullest use of what powers they possess to bring to the miners the moral and material support of the whole British Trade Union Movement. Whether that will be by embargo on all movements of coal, or by withdrawal of labour in certain key industries, or by some other method, is for the General Council to determine.

The last part of this article has been mainly a discussion of the part that may be played by the three main working-class organisations that can aid the miners industrially. But more important than the support of any particular organisation is the support of the mass of the workers themselves. If we can have our fellow Trade Unionists fully understanding the miners' case, and how it is their own case also, we shall have that backing, both in sympathy and in action, which is worth more than anything else.

My Appeal to Mine Workers

Lastly, on the eve of this great struggle, I want to make an appeal to our mine workers to take their courage in both hands and face what may come boldly. They are not the first to go through great trials. Difficulties are before us : but they are not so great as the difficult tasks of the pioneers, the men who built up Trade Unionism in the mining industry. Let them read about the struggles in the early 'sixties ; or let them remember the struggles from '76 up to '88 ; and they will find inspiration in those memories.

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After '88 we had the gigantic lockout of 1893 when Lord Rosebery was brought in as mediator, the same dodge as will be tried again to-day.

Other industries were locked out too in those days : but we had not then learned to move together. We are only learning it now. I remember well the great engineers' lockout of 1897. I remember that I left the pit I was working at, and I spent six weeks going up and down Yorkshire and roundabout, helping to organise the engineers that were locked out. I hadn't but three pounds ten of my own when I started : and after six weeks I was left with five shillings. So you may judge I had roughed it, sleeping where I could.

But all that was just what a single individual could do. Now we must look to more than individual effort—though without we have each individual doing his bit, we shan't be able to go far.

Our next big experience was the movement of 1912 for the minimum wage : and we learned lots then of what part the Government would play in a dispute. But our bitterest experience was in 1921, when we were rebuffed by the Liberal and Tory Coalition under Lloyd George, who sold us for a mess of pottage.

From our history, our memories and our experience we have learned much. It is up to us now, even through great suffering and privation, *to fight this battle to the bitter end, using all and every means to see that, whatever happens, our women and children are fed and sheltered.*

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"FACE PIDGIN"[1]—THE CHINESE STRUGGLE

By TIEN SEN SHIAO

THE events now taking place throughout China are the biggest thing that has happened since October, 1917. But in 1917 the stage was crowded with the happenings of the great Imperialist War, shaking the world from Belgium to Mesopotamia and beyond. Capitalism had, to all intents, broken down in Russia, then fed with Allied loans and a meagre supply of the munitions for which the Russians were pleading ; and the Revolution burst forth, as it were, without the full knowledge of all those who, in ordinary times, would have strained every nerve to throttle it.

To-day, the stage is clearer. Capitalism in China is prosperous, active and alive.

A great blow has been struck. The bankers of the Consortium capitals, London, New York, Tokyo and Paris, are staggered, and in front of them the four Governments cry out " unison," and at once begin, each according to his desires, to discuss a different policy, all seeking the opportunity to slip further into China whilst the others are not looking.

Merchants and business men in Shanghai, Tientsin and elsewhere in China are sending frantic cablegrams to their London offices, urging pressure to be brought on the British Government to carry out the policy of the firm hand, meaning more machine-guns and more dead Chinese.

Enormous interests are at stake ; interests which, in their potentialities at any rate, dwarf those Britain held in Russia into insignificance.

China has been called " a Paradise for employers," the happily coined phrase of the American Secretary of the Chinese Y.M.C.A.

[1] "To lose face " is an idiom of Chinese origin (Deu Lien), which has now come into everyday English use. " Pidgin " is a well known expression among Anglo-Chinese in the East, *e.g.*," that is his pidgin " meaning " that is his business." When an Anglo-Chinese controversy arises, involving national prestige, it is sometimes colloquially defined as being a matter of " Face Pidgin."

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at Chefoo, quoted by H.M. Consul at Chefoo in the recently published Parliamentary Paper, China No. 1 (1925).

Nominees of one or other of the Big Groups in China follow each other in quick succession in writing to *The Times* to state that factories owned by foreigners in Shanghai and other Treaty Ports in China are, in general, immeasurably superior to the Chinese factories, as to construction, sanitation and conditions of employment.

There is not a word of evidence, of any kind, to support this claim of general superiority.

The Report of the Shanghai Child Labour Commission (1924) —a report that is a damning indictment of capitalism in China—tells us that over the whole field of factory employment in Shanghai the British, Americans, French and Italians employ a higher proportion of children under twelve in their factories than do the Chinese. The figures are as follows :—

Factories	Percentage of Employees under Twelve, Girls and Boys per cent.
French	47
Italian	46
British	17
American	15.9
Chinese	13

So are the foreigners immeasurably superior to the Chinese if a callousness towards child life, and indeed towards everything save dividend-producing methods, be the standard.

The largest number of children employed in any one cotton-mill in Shanghai (where work is generally on two twelve-hour day and night shifts) is employed in the British Yangtszepoo Cotton Mill, where, out of a total of 3,800 employees, 700 are boys and girls under twelve.

The largest Chinese cotton-mill, the San Sing Cotton Mill, out of a far larger total of 5,339 employees, employs far fewer children, namely 430.

The foreigners in Shanghai also employ a greater proportion of women workers than do the Chinese. Miss Harrison, formerly of the London School of Economics, and now industrial expert of the Y.W.C.A. in China, reported that :—

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> Women and children, because they will accept lower wages, are rapidly being drawn into the factories.

Employers are doing in China what they scarcely dared to do in Lancashire a hundred years ago.

In contrast with these terrible industrial conditions the cruelly distorted mentality of the British stands out in the following extract from the *Hongkong Daily Press* of June 4, 1925, the organ of British rule in Hongkong :—

> The riots in Shanghai will, we hope, at last convince the Powers that firm measures must be taken to *save China from herself.*

There is abundant evidence to show that when Lloyd George (speaking in the House of Commons on June 18, 1925) likened the movements in China to Sinn Fein he erred badly.

The struggle in China is not a mere phase of subdued nationalism, struggling through petty bourgeois organisations for nationalist expression.

The struggle in China is, in its essence, a struggle of the mass of the people, fighting against intolerable conditions. The roots of the conflict are embedded deeply in the lives of the Chinese workers and peasants.

That is why there is unity and solidarity from Peking to Canton, from Shanghai to Chungking ; yes, and reaching to Mukden too, the heart of Chang Tso Lin's territory, and even to Hongkong, the British Crown Colony, the key, in a military sense, to the whole British position in China. For what Hongkong says, especially when dictated by the chief of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, sooner or later becomes the corner-stone of British policy in China.

Nearly 436,000,000 souls are seething in what they pray will be their last struggle. Who knows what may happen ? A distinguished official who knows China well recently foretold that within three months every Englishman would have left China.

But the grinding exploitation of the Chinese girls and boys in the factories, the sale of foreign opium (largely conducted from behind the sheltered walls of the concessions and settlements), the financial stranglehold on Chinese railways, customs and finance itself, the market for Shell or Standard Oil (now boycotted and replaced by Russian oil from the Caucasus)—enormous as these interests

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are, powerful as the groups and banks behind them may be, are almost capped by something greater.

The inevitable effect of what is happening in China, in Burma, taken from China only in the 'eighties, in India, and percolating through India to Egypt and Africa, indeed to every territory where black or yellow races are used to provide cheap labour and cheap cannon fodder for so-called civilised whites, is already evident in ominous rumblings.

In the face of all this, when the question is asked—"Will the great Powers give up without a struggle?" it is only necessary to quote the papers which say :—

> The British Aircraft Carrier H.M.S. "Hermes" has left Malta for China, fully equipped with aeroplanes and bombs.

What is good enough for an Egyptian is obviously good enough for a Chinaman.

With long experience of bombing defenceless Egyptians and Arabs, English airmen should have no difficulty in scaring the 700 little girls and boys back to work at the British Yangtszepoo Cotton Mill.

British Labour can help us by raising its voice in protest against the terrible inhuman atrocities which have been and are carried out for the good of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation and its allied groups.

But the use of force, of machine-guns, bombs, armoured cars and tanks is not a sudden idea to meet an emergency, but a long and carefully prepared plan worked out by the business men in China, the representatives of the banks and business houses in collusion and with the active support of the Government in London, to smash, once for all, the Trade Unions in China.

As long ago as March, 1925, the Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Council, the oligarchy of business men who control Shanghai, wrote the following letter to the War Office in London :—

> Mr. E. S. B. Rowe, Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Council
>
> to
>
> Sir Herbert J. Creedy, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for War, War Office, London.

Dear Sir,

At the instance of the Council of the International Settlement in

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Shanghai I have the honour to request you to deliver to us on terms of long credit the following articles :—

200 Rifles, Webbs, S.M.L.E., III*.

120 Cases of Webbs Ammunition 08.

This request is made in emergency, as the Shanghai Volunteer Guard is to be increased and requires larger quantities of arms and ammunition than hitherto.

I beg leave to express the confident hope that His Majesty's War Office will find it possible to comply with the request of the Council, and also to thank you for your good offices in the matter.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) E. S. B. Rowe.

It is inconceivable that these steps and preparations, which have been going on for a long time, were unknown to MacDonald.

We Chinese cannot understand why the British workers still keep MacDonald as their leader. To us he seems to be leading you backwards and backwards, but that is your Pidgin—not ours.

The supply of arms to the Shanghai Merchant Volunteers, a Fascist body, was admitted by the Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons on July 14, when he said that it was true that during the past six months applications had been received for the supply of arms to the Shanghai Volunteer Force, and that these applications had been complied with.

So the front line policy of the British, who are the predominant imperialists and who set the pace, is to smash the workers separately in each town ; to " shoot to kill " an unarmed crowd after ten seconds' warning, as Inspector Everson ordered before the Laoza police-station in Shanghai on May 30.

But whilst this policy may succeed in the British Crown Colony, Hongkong (where every unemployed adult is to be deported and where the British Governor Sir Reginald Stubbs has arranged for the flogging of the strikers), it will not succeed in China proper.

The butchery at Shanghai has already been condemned, even by officials.

When the news of the shootings which took place at Shanghai on May 30 and subsequent days reached Peking, the heads of the Diplomatic Missions of the powers interested appointed a Mixed Commission to proceed to Shanghai, there to carry out an inquiry in conjunction with a Chinese Commission, appointed by the Peking Government, and to report to the Diplomatic Body. The

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head of the Mixed Commission was Mons. Tripier, Counsellor of the French Legation at Peking, Britain was represented by Mr. Vereker, First Secretary of H.M. Legation at Peking, and America, Japan, Belgium and Italy were represented respectively by Messrs. G. Graeme, Shigamitsu, Ullens de Schootan and Mendola.

The Report blamed :—

(1) The British Police Officer who ordered the Police to fire on the strikers.
(2) The British Chief of Police, Colonel MacEwan, who did not take command on account of absence.
(3) The American Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Council, Mr. Fessenden, held to be legally responsible.

The leakage of the contents of the Report caused great indignation among the British and Americans at Shanghai, and, correspondingly, encouraged the Chinese nationalists in their demands for redress.

The Shanghai authorities, however, were able to persuade Chamberlain to suppress this report. Fortunately, accounts appeared in the French Press and the evidence which was published in the Chinese Press has also reached this country.

It is extremely improbable that America will ever allow the indiscriminate bombing of Canton or Shanghai, as the local British merchants and some missionaries urge, and as the Admiralty, with the " Hermes," is prepared to do.

More and more it is being realised throughout the world that Britain, isolated and alone, is arraigned before the bar of humanity on the charge of manslaughter in the Chinese Amritsars of Shanghai, Hankow and Canton.

The hopes of the imperialists are now turning to new channels ; to diplomatic methods, International Conferences, carefully stage-managed, magnificent resolutions and promises, which are never kept.

Intervention on a grand scale such as the Allies undertook after the Boxer uprising is hardly thinkable. They cannot again march on Peking and sack the palaces. Not only would America never tolerate it, but there is a fundamental difference in the situation. In those days Russia was on the side of England and France ; now Russia is the best friend of China and the Russian Ambassador is doyen of the Diplomatic Corps at Peking.

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Rather do the Great Powers pray that Chang Tso Lin, the War Lord of Mukden, will once more play the game of the foreign imperialists. Half a century ago the foreign Powers helped the effete and reactionary Manchus to crush the Taiping Rebellion; and now for a dozen years they have backed and supported the forces of reaction in China. The Re-organisation Loan of 1913 provided Yuan Chih-Kai with millions, which turned him into a military despot, and enabled him to build up a huge army in the North and crush the growing germ of democracy in the South. Later, in the struggle between Wu Pei Fu and Sun Yat Sen, the Powers supported and recognised Wu Pei Fu, while the powerful clique controlling the news from Peking did propaganda against Dr. Sun Yat Sen; and the Chinese subject to British rule in Hongkong were prevented by the Consortium Pact from giving financial aid to Dr. Sun Yat Sen.

And when Peking was at its wits' end seeking funds, Chang Tso Lin still had his group of Manchurian banks which could provide him with 50,000,000 dollars when necessary. The Manchurian banks are the Japanese Bank of Chosen, the French Banque Industrielle de Chine at Mukden, and the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank at Harbin. In the last month British agents have had frequent discussions with Chang Tso Lin.

In the South, Great Britain armed and organised the Anti-Sun Party in Canton. Chan Lim-pak, the comprador of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank at Canton, established a Merchant Volunteer Force, which aimed at overthrowing Sun Yat Sen.

Sun Yat Sen protested to the League of Nations and to MacDonald, then Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but without avail, without even acknowledgment.

Recently documents found on the premises of the general staff of the Yunnanese troops in Canton revealed the existence of a wide-spread plot for the overthrow of the Kuomintang Government and the establishment of a reactionary dictatorship dependent on British and Japanese support. The Commander-in-Chief of the Yunnanese troops in Canton, Yang Shih Ming, escaped on an English boat after the defeat of his army by the Kuomintang troops, and was taken to Hongkong—the centre of counter-revolutionary intrigue.

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The policy, therefore, of the imperialist Powers in subsidising reaction in the North or South is clear, and renewed efforts will, undoubtedly, be made—perhaps before these lines appear in print.

What is the blood of a few thousand Chinese mercenaries compared to the dividends of the Consortium ?

So far Marshal Chang has shown discretion, realising that to attempt, at the British or Japanese behest, to stem the tide of nationalism would land him in a smashing defeat, such as his prototypes Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel experienced in Russia.

One doubts whether the hope of the usual consolation prize—awarded to Denikin—the K.C.B., would really compensate Chang for defeat and the loss of his head.

But Chang must be watched.

Marshal Chang is under fifty years of age. He has always acted as the agent of Japanese imperialism since, during the Russo-Japanese War, he fought on the side of the Japanese.

For various reasons, Chang is holding his hand.

British Labour must watch him closely, and should he attempt to oppose the democratic movement, must smash him as they smashed, by their protests, Denikin, Yudenitch and Wrangel, and sent Kolchak to his grave.

Less dangerous, but not outside the bounds of probability, is that some effort may be made to revive the fallen powers of Wu Pei Fu.

It seems to us that the workers in England have but two questions to ask :—

(1) Does not the sweated labour of men, women and children in China throw English out of employment ?

(2) Is it possible to improve trading relations between England and China at the bayonet point, with machine-guns, armoured cars, aeroplanes and generally by a display of force ?

There is another consideration which is agitating the imperialists furiously. If the Chinese win their freedom, if the Chinese Dragon and the Russian Bear come together, if China elects to join hands with the U.S.S.R., nearly half the earth will be emancipated from the grip of capitalism.

That is why " Face-Pidgin " will compel the imperialists to fight, at all costs, in China.

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IN THE LIGHT OF MARXISM

Capitalist "Science" and Marxism

Sound Economics, or in other words, the explanation and defence of the existing order of things.

The Times, April 13, 1925.

THE above quotation affords a useful starting point to illustrate the difference between Bourgeois Science and Marxism.

Bourgeois Social Science is built on the assumption of Capitalism as the natural permanent order of things (just as Aristotelian Science was built on the assumption of Slavery). The province of the scientist is regarded as to analyse it, explain it and find its laws. Any other treatment is regarded as "propaganda" and "unsound."

This assumption is completely unscientific. Capitalism is obviously an historical phenomenon, with a birth, growth and decay. Any scientific approach must be able to analyse it from outside, to analyse its growth and decay, in fact to treat it *dialectically*. This scientific method is the method of Marx. But this is completely beyond the range of a class whose whole outlook is bound up with Capitalism, and which can therefore only approach the tremendous social fact of the Class Struggle with little sermons, denunciations, proofs of non-existence, &c., *i.e.*, unscientifically.

Marx said that bourgeois Social Science was simply "Apologetics." The above quotation completely bears him out. That such a definition could be openly made in the principal bourgeois organ, including in its scope by name the leading bourgeois theorists, and accepted without protest, is a measure of the decay of Capitalism, and the now open decay of bourgeois learning.

Marxism, or the science of the working class, is to-day inevitably the inheritor of the scientific tradition; because the facts of to-day are such that only the revolutionary working class is able to face them frankly and fully as they are, without any apologetics, humbug, convention, concealment, &c.

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The difference between Marxism and bourgeois culture is, accordingly, not the difference between two " schools " of science. Bourgeois culture is by its own admission Apologetics, *i.e.*, the unscientific dogma of a decaying class. Marxism is simply objective scientific method applied to social life (already with the first beginning of the same practical power and success as accompanied the application of the same realist scientific methods to external nature), applied by the rising class which alone is strong enough to wield the new weapon and holds the future of humanity in its hands—the working class.

This fact is essential to realise. Once it is realised, the principal theoretical obstacle to a widespread Marxist understanding in Britain to-day (the myth of a " religious dogmatism " or supposed " sectarian narrowness " skilfully attributed to Marxism by bourgeois propaganda) is removed ; and the way is open to a plain Marxist understanding of current realities in opposition to the mixed humbug and shallow confusion of current bourgeois thought.

* * * *

In the following notes the attempt will be made to take from time to time some typical current expressions and quotations, and examine them in the light of Marxism, in order to bring out certain elementary fundamental conceptions, as well as to approach some current problems and controversies in relation to the theoretical background. There is, of course, no absolute correctness in such a task, least of all in this country where we are still in the first stages of Marxist understanding ; for this reason criticism and correction will be the more welcome.

The Secret of the Bourgeois Fallacy

It is no affair of the economic student as such to consider whether any or all of these payments—rent, interest, wages and profits—are right or wrong. It is his business to know how and why they are as they are.

Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher : *Getting and Spending.*

This innocent little sentence contains the whole secret of the bourgeois fallacy at its starting point.

To the bourgeois mind the whole existing capitalist world around them appears as a natural eternal necessity. It is a basic assumption so deeply rooted that they are not even conscious of it.

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Thus when they come to approach the question of economics, they quite naïvely see only two alternatives :—

(1) To analyse, describe and explain this eternal God-given order ("rent, interest, wages and profits"). This they believe to be scientific, not realising that it is only Apologetics because of their unconscious assumption.

(2) To appraise or condemn this order from the point of view of what the individual critic thinks "ought" to be. This is the Ethical or Sentimental approach, and they justly reject it as unscientific.

But that there should be a third alternative : to analyse capitalism, not as an absolute eternal system, but as an historical process with growth and decay, arising out of other social orders and leading to other social orders ; to analyse capitalism, in fact, not from within, but from without ; that there should be the possibility of a *dialectic* method, which is neither Apologist nor Ethical, but objective and scientific — such a conception is wholly beyond the range of bourgeois thought ; for if any bourgeois mind through exceptional experience should reach it, it would be torn out of its whole moorings of class-narrowness.

The British Idyllic Illusion

Because we have a Baldwin to deal with, instead of a Plehve or a Koltchak, there need never be in this country the hatred, the savagery, the repression of liberty on both sides which stained and distorted the class struggle in Russia.

New Leader, April 10, 1925.

Here we have a glaring example of the Philistinism of the bourgeois outlook.

Koltchak was paid, subsidised and maintained by the British Government.

Baldwin was a Minister of the British Government which paid Koltchak.

But Baldwin is, of course, a real "gentleman"—he only pays others to do his dirty work.

And so our reformist Philistines tell the English workers they can go to sleep—for the gentlemanly British bourgeoisie is not as those awful Russians are.

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The Conservative Fallacy

> *The Tory or Conservative Party is a party, not of theory, but of history and fact. It knows that no paper theory can be any substitute for a living political organism. It teaches that the art of politics knows nothing of the* tabula rasa. *It insists that the existing institutions of a country or the world are the only material to which the statesman who understands his business will put his hand.*
>
> *The Times*, April 2, 1925.

History and Fact ? Splendid. Here is already the starting point to Marxism.

But then comes the little sleight-of-hand. In place of the unimpeachable " History and Fact " is suddenly substituted " Existing Institutions " as " the only material " for the statesman to take into account.

Once again Science is replaced by Class Assumption.

For the sanctity of " Existing Institutions " is far from guaranteed by " History and Fact." Quite the contrary. That one social fabric arises out of the conditions of the preceding, that a given economic-political structure gives place, with a change in the basic economic conditions, to its successor, this much is certain. But the change is commonly accompanied by the intensest political conflict and violent breaks. That some portion of the old decaying political structure, some precious " existing institutions," *i.e.*, former class monopolies and privileges, can survive into the next stage, this is a very different question and not at all justified by " History and Fact."

Were this not so, Revolutions would be incomprehensible phenomena in social development, as they are to the Conservative, who can only attribute them to the brains of philosophers.

Thus " History and Fact " become transformed into " Existing Institutions," and these in their turn are found on analysis to be nothing but a dying Class, Monopoly and Privilege. The classless " Statesman " of the Conservative ideal is not so classless after all.

In consequence the Conservatives, despite the measure of power that their strong sense of fact gives them, in Imperialism, as unscrupulous wagers of the class war, &c., are in the end helpless and uncomprehending before the real forces of change.

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The Liberal Fallacy

Have these trade union leaders so little appreciation of what democracy means that they are prepared to abandon it in the name of efficiency? Have we really got to go back to the discussions of some five centuries ago in order to prove the value of self-government?

Manchester Guardian, February 24, 1925.
(*On the Report of the Trade Union Delegation to Russia.*)

Liberalism, being itself a myth—the myth that capitalism is a classless society, and that under wage slavery all "citizens" are free and equal—is necessarily built up on a whole series of myths and legends.

There is the Myth of Democracy, the Myth of Parliament, the Myth of Equality before the Law, the Myth of a Free Press, the Myth of a Commonwealth of Nations, the Myth of Equality of Opportunity, &c. The life of the devout and active Liberal used to be spent mainly (outside his business) in protesting against the innumerable infringements of these innumerable myths—the more invisible and abstract the principle the better, so long as it veiled the real class issues and appeared to yoke capitalists and workers in a common cause. Latterly, the development of the class struggle has driven the majority of the Liberals openly into the camp of the Conservatives, while the remainder are trying to carry on their old game in the Labour Movement.

But of all the Myths and Legends it would be difficult to find a richer example than the desperate appeal of the *Manchester Guardian* leader-writer against the Trade Union leaders to "the discussions of some five centuries ago," which apparently served "to prove the value of self-government."

What these "discussions of some five centuries ago" were it would be impious to ask. A close interpretation of five centuries ago would bring us to Joan of Arc, and her burning by the English, but this cannot be the "discussion" intended. A rougher interpretation of "some five centuries" would bring us to the Wars of the Roses; but these also were probably not intended. Perhaps the leader-writer being a little hazy, as Liberals tend to be (outside their business), meant by "some five centuries ago" a little over seven centuries ago, when King John and the Barons with their army had their little "discussion" about scutage; or, alternatively,

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he meant by " some five centuries ago " a little under three centuries ago, when King Charles and Cromwell had their little " discussion " which ended in such a cutting reply by Cromwell.

In any case it is to be feared that the coarse Trade Union leaders were not convinced by these venerable precedents of Liberalism into disbelieving what they had seen with their own eyes in Russia. And what was that ? Something that no Liberal can understand—the freedom of the workers. A coarse material freedom, based, not on a spiritual ideal patterned up in heaven, but on the solid and earthly fact of the possession and control of the means of existence as the first condition of freedom.

The Labour-Democrat Fallacy

There is a big difference between carrying on a Government and passing resolutions at an I.L.P. Conference.

J. R. MacDonald to the *Gloucester I.L.P. Conference.*
Daily Herald, June 14, 1925.

There is.

Opportunism

The essential thing in Labour politics is to keep a grip of the realities of the modern world. It may be very nice to lisp a series of idealistic abstractions, but these cut no ice, so far as the immediate needs of the workers of this country or the movement are concerned.

J. Wheatley in the *Sunday Worker*, June 21, 1925.

I am primarily interested in creating some measure of prosperity in the trade . . . All the venom and spleen contained in his (Mr. Cook's) recent utterances will not increase the prosperity of the miners by one farthing in a century. The miners will look on and will still want for bread ; they cannot live by froth alone.

F. Hodges reported in *The Times*, February 17, 1925.

These two quotations are good examples of Opportunism—or the advocacy of an alleged immediate gain through co-operation with capitalism as more important to the workers than the interests of the Revolution which is regarded as distant.

Two things are always set in opposition by the Opportunists (who commonly pay lip-service to the Revolution) :—

(1) " Idealistic abstractions," " froth "—by this they mean the Social Revolution, which alone can bring solid benefit to the workers, and must always be their supreme guiding and governing aim.

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(2) "Bread," "realities of the modern world," "prosperity in the trade"—by this they mean an alleged immediate gain through some form of class-co-operation such as co-partnership, industrial peace, imperial preference, &c.

The fallacy of the Opportunist outlook is as follows :—

(1) It is false to separate the immediate interests of the workers from the interests of the Revolution. The stronger the workers are to fight, the more approaching in will and organisation to the Revolution, the stronger they are also to win immediate gains now by the only way in which such gains can be won, by their own strength.

(2) In any bargain of co-operation with the capitalists, the workers always stand to lose more than they gain. The capitalists only offer co-partnership, &c., because it brings them more profit. An economic analysis would show that the same applies to Imperial Preference, which a portion of the Left were tricked into supporting by some very specious arguments of the Imperialists about sweating (as if it existed outside the Empire and not inside) under the belief that they were supporting the immediate interests of the English workers.

The Opportunist who puts a supposed immediate gain before the Revolution is like the donkey who chases the carrot set before his nose by his master and so drags his master's cart to market.

Lenin on "Realists"

He is no Marxist who to justify existing conditions distorts the theory which soberly confirms the objective situation, who goes so far as to adapt himself with the greatest possible speed to any temporary lull in the revolution, to throw quickly overboard his "revolutionary illusions" and to set about collecting the "realistic" shreds.

N. Lenin : *Introduction to Marx's Letters to Kugelmann*, 1907.

Our British "Realists," who are fond of claiming relationship to Lenin, would do well to study the above passage.

Student.

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THE RIFF WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

By ALLEN HUTT

"THE Tunisian is a woman, the Algerian is a man, but the Moor is a lion." So runs the picturesque old Moorish proverb: and the fortunes of war in the Riff have grimly underlined it. A handful of Berber highlanders, armed only with rifles and a few machine guns, have not only kept at bay, but are actually pressing hard the mighty war machine of a first-class imperialist Power. Despite the severity of the French censorship and the guarded or artificially optimistic character of the *communiqués*, the true facts are leaking out.

France has been forced to evacuate the long line of blockhouses north of the Wergha valley so carefully erected last year. Revolt is seething among the formerly "loyal" tribes—the heather is in truth ablaze under the feet of the French invader. This has enabled the Riffs to break the French front at several points, to come within an ace of cutting the Fez-Taza railway (the line of communication between Morocco and Algeria), and even to threaten seriously Fez itself, the capital and French G.H.Q. Important French fortified posts, such as Wezzan at the western extremity of the front and Taza at its eastern extremity, are in a precarious position. Fighting is practically continuous over a 200-mile front: and the situation, from the French point of view, is at best one of stalemate, as *The Times* frankly admits. It would be truer to say that, so far, the honours are with the Riffs.

Just how grave the situation is it has been possible to gather from a number of recent incidents. There is, for instance, M. Painlevé's aeroplane flight to Morocco; there is the appointment of a new Commander-in-Chief to supersede Marshal Lyautey in the actual conduct of the war; lastly, and most significant of all, we have learnt of the immediate[1] French evacuation of the Ruhr, and the transfer of the Moroccan troops so released to the Riff front. Jacques Doriot, in his article in THE LABOUR MONTHLY for June,

[1] This was written on July 15.

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prophesied that " Lyautey has a tough job before him . . . The war will be long and deadly." Events have proved the correctness of his prediction up to the hilt.

Events have brought even more striking confirmation of the justice of Doriot's contention that the war in Morocco is simply a classical instance of a colonial war, a war of imperialist aggression. For, by great good fortune, there has fallen into the hands of our friend a confidential document of a kind that only sees the light of day once in a generation : this he read in the Chamber of Deputies, and its authenticity is attested by the fact that its author, M. Vatin-Pérignon, the chief of Marshal Lyautey's personal staff, immediately resigned. The document is in the form of a private letter from M. Vatin-Pérignon, at Fez, to M. Pierre Lyautey, nephew of the Marshal, in France. It is dated May 25, 1925.

The letter denies that the French were " surprised " by Abdel Krim, and affirms that " the Marshal was so well informed and had so thoroughly foreseen what was to happen that, from January, 1924, on (see his reports to the Government) he was preparing for war." The line of blockhouses north of the Wergha (which served the useful purpose of keeping the Riffs out of the fertile Wergha valley and enforced the French prohibition of trade between that valley and the Riff) was constructed—

> in May, 1924, while Abdel Krim, his attention taken up by the Spaniards, could not react. . . . This front was established on a strategic line . . . without striking a blow. After May, 1924, this front was reinforced, fortified and its communications with the base secured by a system of roads, bridges, and railways.

This system, it is explained, was intended to " hold " the enemy until the arrival of reinforcements.

> These reinforcements were arranged for and ready either in Algeria, or in France. That is a secret of general mobilisation which has not been and must not be revealed.

It is foolish, the letter continues, to talk of " surprise " and " lack of foresight." " We were not surprised by a sudden attack." The question is then raised of what is to be done with " the enemy, as we cannot invade his territory," *i.e.*, by reason of it being in the Spanish zone.

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> Either he will treat with us. But what will be the value of that for the future? Or he will continue to attack us, now on one point, now on another: which means a perpetual state of war. Or, in agreement with the other Powers, we can invade his territory, and that is a very big business (*c'est une très grosse affaire*).

M. Vatin-Pérignon concludes by stating that :—

> The Marshal is entirely and fundamentally in agreement with the Government, and the latter is doing all that it can, all that it should. The duty of all good Frenchmen, who do not forget that our future in Morocco, that is to say, our future in the Mediterranean (Algeria, Tunis), is at stake, is to support the Government on this point with all their strength.

He adds significantly :—

> As for personal matters: contact with Herriot and Boncour is assured. Blum, as you say, is in touch with Berthelot,[1] and this contact is bound to become closer. For to-day I say no more.

The remainder of the letter is occupied with a highly revealing description of the business of securing "opportune comments" in the Press (including the Radical Press) and a flattering characterisation of the "good bunch" of war correspondents at Fez, who "have the right ideas" and whose dispatches will "dissipate certain misunderstandings and certain legends."

As M. Vatin-Pérignon sapiently observes, the war in Morocco "is a very big business." And in whose interest? The answer is simple. In the interest of the *Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas*. Imperialism, the era of monopoly, is especially distinguished by the export of capital to the "backward" countries. This is naturally the case in Morocco: and out of a total of 483 million francs of French capital in Morocco, the *Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas* controls over a half. It controls a capital of 198,250,000 frs. directly, through having its directors on the boards of the principal Moroccan concerns: and a capital of 48,000,000 frs. indirectly through subsidiary companies.

Thus, out of four French directors on the board of the State Bank of Morocco, two (one of them the managing director) are directors of the *Banque de Paris*. The State Bank has a capital of 15,000,000 frs. and its average dividend of late years has been 20 per cent. We find the same situation in the Commercial Bank of Morocco. The *Banque de Paris* has four of its directors on the

[1] Permanent Secretary at the French Foreign Office.

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Moroccan Railways Board. It has also interests in the Franco-Spanish Fez-Tangier railway. It dominates the chief electricity supply companies, such as the *Société Générale d'Energie Eléctrique*, and has formed a prospecting company for hydro-electric development.

The Bank also controls the Morocco Breweries, the Maghreb Milling Company, which virtually monopolises the flour trade of the country, and the Municipal Slaughterhouses Company, which in effect controls the whole cattle market and has the concession for constructing all slaughterhouses, markets, &c. It has interests in three important land companies, the *Société Marocaine d'Exploitation Agricole*, the *Société Agricole du Maroe*, and the Sebou River Company. It is equally interested in constructional concerns, through the Casablanca Development Company and the Morocco Lime and Building Materials Company : this latter company, whose dividends—on a capital of 14,000,000 frs.—increased from 6 per cent. in 1917 to 20 per cent. in 1920, it was responsible for founding. Two of its directors are on the board of " Civil Construction," a company which undertakes general building operations. For port and harbour works it has interests in the *Société des Ports Marocains de Méhédia-Venitra et Rabat-Salé*. It likewise participates in the Morocco International Tobacco Company, which paid over 30 per cent. in 1922.

This picture of giant imperialist monopoly is completed by the *Compagnie Générale du Maroc* (capital 20,000,000 frs.), whose chairman is also the chairman of the *Banque de Paris*. The *Compagnie Générale* controls a dozen of the most important companies in Morocco : its objects being genially described as " all operations likely to favour the development of Morocco." [1] Altogether, the *Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas* is known to control at least twenty-five companies in Morocco—probably more. And behind it stands the tremendous power of Standard Oil.

It was into the grasp of this octopus that defeated Spain handed over her nominal concessions for the iron deposits in the Riff. Now it may be true that the importance and the richness of these deposits has been over-estimated : none the less, the analogous deposits in

[1] These facts were made public by Jacques Doriot in a speech in the French Chamber (February 4, 1925). No attempt was made to deny them.

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Algeria and Tunis produce a non-phosphoric ore containing 50 per cent. of metal ; and the mining companies in those two countries pay anything from 40 per cent. to 150 per cent. in dividends, while the value of their shares has increased seven to forty-fold. This is, indeed, to quote our admirable Vatin-Pérignon once more, " very big business " : and it gives us the real key to the war.

How has the French Labour movement reacted to this challenge? Does not the spirit of Jaurès, who was such a determined opponent of the whole Moroccan adventure, still live ? It does : but not in the Socialist Party—not, that is to say, in its leaders.

While pursuing faithfully its will o' the wisp of a " left " Government—or to put it crudely, coalition with the Liberal bourgeoisie—the Parliamentary Socialist Party has been unable to escape the brutal fact that by its continued support of that Government it is actually sharing the guilt for a colonial war. The Paris correspondent of the most respectable of English Liberal newspapers has written :—

> The position of the Socialist Parliamentary Party becomes daily more embarrassed. A revolt against the leadership has begun to manifest itself, particularly in the provinces. War in Morocco is extremely unpopular with the masses.
>
> *Manchester Guardian*, May 30, 1925.

> With *the best will in the world* the Socialists cannot bring themselves to support the Moroccan campaign. . . . The Socialists, in fact, are faced with a serious dilemma. . . . The Moroccan campaign is intensely unpopular in the country. Every day the party is losing adherents to the Communists. . . . The Socialists cannot any longer identify themselves with the task of Government even indirectly without compromising their principles and their future with the working class.
>
> *Manchester Guardian*, June 18, 1925.

Even so, the Party has not had the courage or the will to vote against the Painlevé Government. On May 29, after days of crisis, it was appeased because the motion of confidence contained a phrase repudiating " every sort of imperialism involving conquest and adventure " (*sic !*). But dissension within the Party was rapidly growing. Socialist branches were passing strongly-worded resolutions of protest. A " left " wing began to form in the Party, grouping itself round the newspaper *L'Etincelle*, of which M. Maurice Maurin, a member of the national executive of the

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Party, is editor. A referendum was taken of the Socialist deputies, and showed a majority of one for withdrawing support from the Government.

Yet when the day of the vote came, on June 24, sixty-five Socialists supported the Government, thirty-seven abstained, and only two voted with the Communist opposition. This, too, for a motion which "condemned" the "propaganda [Communist, of course] which imperils the lives of our troops as well as France's work of civilisation and her will to peace." On this occasion the well-known Socialist leader, M. Renaudel,

> accused the Communists of having encouraged Abdel Krim to refuse the terms of peace offered by the French, declaring that French colonial civilisation, in spite of certain justifiable criticisms, represented liberty and French ideals. He went on to demand a policy which would nullify the effects of Communist propaganda.
>
> *Daily Herald*, June 25, 1925.

M. Renaudel's "justifiable criticisms" no doubt refer to the definite military orders issued to French officers in Morocco to fire on labourers in the fields and to return only the numbers of "rebels" killed or wounded, "*without specifying age or sex.*"

The latest stage in this vulgar tragi-comedy has been the abstention of the Socialist Party in the vote of the credits (183 million francs) for the war. On this occasion M. Léon Blum observed :—

> We could not, and we will not, vote against the credits. . We do not ask the Government to evacuate Morocco. . . . We would vote for the Government if it was in danger. . . . In spite of all, we are fighting against something which, in its essential characteristics, is an aggression, and on this ground we do not deny France the right to defend herself.
>
> *Journal Officiel*, July 9, 1925.

We are not surprised that M. Blum is referred to in the Vatin-Pérignon letter as in "contact." [1]

And as with the Socialist Party, so with the orthodox leaders of Trade Unionism. M. Léon Jouhaux has written pontifically that :—

[1] The same authority, it will be recalled, refers to the "assured contact" with M. Paul-Boncour, the extreme right-wing Socialist leader. On this gentleman, see the "Notes of the Month," THE LABOUR MONTHLY, April, 1925, Vol. VII, No. 4, p. 200.

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> The working class does not associate itself with the incitements of demagogues : the pretended internationalism of the Third International is merely an appeal to the narrowest nationalism. . . . The working class is against any *extension* of military operations which should have as its aim the carrying of the war into the former Spanish zone.
>
> The Government has denied that it intends to pursue aims contrary to these : let us have confidence in it.
>
> *Le Peuple*, May 23, 1925.

M. Jouhaux does not, therefore, oppose the war : in this he is not at one with the mass of French Trade Unionists, as the many anti-war resolutions passed by Trade Unions show.

Where, then, is the spirit of Jaurès to be found ? Not, as we have seen, among Jaurès' own Socialist and Trade Union contemporaries. To discover, eleven years after his murder, the anti-imperialist spirit of the great tribune, we must turn to the Communist Party.

The Communist fraction alone in the Chamber has stood solid against the imperialist Painlevé Government. Jacques Doriot in particular has distinguished himself : and the Berlin *Rote Fahne* very justly put up on its report of one of his speeches the proud headline—" Liebknecht Lives ! " *L'Humanité*, alone among the Paris Press, has raised its voice day after day against the iniquitous war against a little people fighting valiantly for their freedom. The Communist Party alone has had over 120 of its members arrested for their courageous anti-militarist propaganda. The Communist Party alone—together with the C.G.T.U.—has taken the initiative, through the " Committee of Action," in fighting for working-class unity to end the war. The measure of its success has been visible in the recent workers' congresses in Paris and Lille, attended by hundreds of Socialists, C.G.T. Trade Unionists and non-Party workers.

The Communist Party of France has opened a new page in the history of the working-class movement. For, as a result of its efforts, we are witnessing the first organised intervention of the West European proletariat in a colonial war : the first case in which the workers of an imperialist country have, by deeds and not only by words, made common cause with one of " their " colonial peoples in revolt.

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A last word on the international complications of the Riff war. Franco-Spanish co-operation is now, after the Madrid Conference, a *fait accompli*—on paper. It remains to be seen how far Madrid is really prepared to burn its fingers a third time. Italy is watching the increasing difficulties of France with scarcely concealed delight coupled with a certain alarm lest a Riff victory should have unfortunate repercussions in her own North African colonies. She is, however, at no cost prepared to submit to any such infringement of the *status quo* in Morocco as would be implied by a French invasion of the Spanish zone.

The attitude of Britain is similar. There is a singular air of smug satisfaction about the reports of French reverses in our bourgeois Press. British imperialism, in fact, is very far from sorry to see the hold of France on Morocco so seriously challenged: more especially as behind France (*i.e.*, the *Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas*) stands Britain's greater rival, American imperialism—represented by Standard Oil. And yet—there is another side to the picture: for the last thing Britain wants is a decisive victory for Abdel Krim, which would set the whole world of Islam aflame; which would be a standing inspiration and encouragement to the subject peoples of Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Irak and India to go and do likewise.

Torn between these two extremes, our masters are revealed as in the grip of a typical imperialist contradiction. To-day they send a Note to Spain firmly refusing to intervene in any way. To-morrow it is almost as likely that they will, with a sudden swing of the pendulum, assist "our French and Spanish allies" in a naval blockade. One senses their desire to clear out of Tangier and so to escape any kind of obligations in Morocco. But they dread the thought of Tangier becoming a French Gibraltar. So they stand irresolute—literally not knowing where they are. The Riff war of independence has exposed, as in a lightning flash, the rent in the veil of the imperialist temple.

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The World of Labour

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CHINA

A Diary of Events

The following diary of recent events in China has been specially compiled for The Labour Monthly. Its basis, as will be seen, is purely chronological.

February 9 Strike of Chinese labourers in Japanese cotton-mill at Shanghai, owing to ill-treatment by a foreman, and wage-demands.

27 Strike settled after arrest of leaders—workers defeated.

May 9 5,000 cotton workers strike for higher pay at Shanghai.

10 Lock-out in several mills. Crowd of workers fired on by mill-guards. Two killed and several wounded.

17 Rioting in a mill following the dismissal of Union leaders. Several men wounded by mill-guards.

29 Factory in the hands of strikers surrounded by troops. Two strikers killed, and many wounded. Report of similar strike in Japanese mills at Tsingtao. Two Japanese gunboats arrive.

30 Demonstration by students at Shanghai. Ten killed and many wounded, at the Louza police station.

June 1 Further demonstrations at the Louza station. Four strikers killed. General strike called, and martial law declared.

2 French, American and Italian sailors landed at Shanghai. Protest by Chinese Foreign Office, and demand for release of arrested students, &c.

3 British and Japanese troops landed. All foreign-owned mills idle, and strikes in municipal services, newspapers, &c. Reuter reports total of twenty-one killed. Demonstrations of sympathy at Peking and Canton.

4 Police raid "Bolshevik centres" in Shanghai. Several foreign warships arrive. Diplomatic Corps defends the police action. Chinese Foreign Office replies.

5 Strike at Shanghai reported to be almost complete. Troops and "volunteer forces" parading streets, &c.

6 Fighting begins at Canton between Kuomintang and Yunnanese forces.

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JUNE

7 Diplomatic Body to send a commission to inquire into the Shanghai events. Reports of demonstrations at Chinkiang, Hankow, Tientsin, Taiyuanfu, Kaifeng, Nanking. Russians said to have been arrested at Shanghai.

8 Chinese Seamen's Union joins the strike, now said to be mainly anti-British and anti-Japanese.

9 Feng Yu-Hsiang and Chang Tso-lin telegraph to the President in favour of a Chinese united front. Peking Government "recognises its responsibilities" towards foreigners. Trial of students arrested at Shanghai begins. Manifesto by the Professors of Peking University, supporting the movement.

10 Chang sends first detachment of troops to Shanghai. Great demonstration at Peking. General strike at Foochow.

11 Disturbance at Hankow. Nine Chinese killed by machine-gun fire of British volunteers.

12 Victory of Kuomintang forces at Canton. Yunnanese troops expelled. Chinese Chamber of Commerce frames thirteen demands, and threatens a boycott of British and Japanese goods.

13 Report of seven Chinese killed in demonstration at An-tung. Chinese attack British consulate at Kiukiang. Government protest to British Legation against Hankow massacre.

14 "Firm" reply by British legation. Demonstration of 25,000 at Tientsin. Reports of hardening of anti-imperialist (particularly anti-British) feeling, after the Hankow incident, even among merchant classes.

15 Englishman shot dead while motoring at Shanghai. Chinese and foreign delegations meet. Reported differences among the foreign legations.

16 "Bolshevik agitator" executed by Chinese authorities at Hankow. Chang marching on Peking with 13,000 men (at the request, it is said, of the Japanese minister, as an anti-nationalist move). "Unrest" reported from Fu-kien and An-hwei provinces. Warships despatched up the Yang-tse.

17 4,000 railwaymen strike at Tong-shan. Further note from Powers to Chinese Government.

18 Negotiations break down. "Unrest" reported at Chung-king. Processions at Peking stopped by Chang's troops. Students' strike begins at Hong-Kong.

19 Chinese Government orders financial help for strikers. Strike extending at Hong-Kong and Canton.

20 Chinese Foreign Office denies the Powers' account of the incidents, and supports the strikers.

21 More troops sent from Mukden to reinforce Chang. One regiment mutinies *en route*. Demonstration by Chinese in Paris.

22 Disturbances reported from Ho-nan and Ning-po, and from Manchuria (hitherto quiet under Chang's troops). "State of Emergency" at Hong-Kong.

23 Great demonstration of all classes at Shameen (Canton). French and British machine guns fire for ten minutes; thirty killed and seventy wounded (one European killed and four wounded). Demonstrations at Chinkiang, Chungking and Woochow. Mutinies in Manchuria reported to be more serious. Chang Hsueh-Liang (son of Chang

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Tso-lin) recalled from Shanghai to deal with them. Banks at Hong-Kong cease payment. New Commission of Inquiry (" Commission of Three ") to be appointed.

JUNE 24 Protest from Governor of Canton. Reports that " Russians in masks " began the shooting at Shameen. Indian troops arrive. Strike funds collected among Chinese in the Philippines. " Grave situation " at Amoy. Chinese Foreign Office repeats the thirteen demands.

25 Hostile reply by British Consul at Canton. Demonstration at Peking of 20,000 " students, merchants and workmen." Disturbances reported at Wuhu, Swatow, Hoihow, Chekiang. Volunteers mobilised in readiness for an alleged " bomb-plot." Reported discovery of evidence that the Yunnanese troops in Canton were in foreign pay. Chinese T.U. Federation invites delegates from British and Russian T.U.C.

26 About 70 per cent. of shops, &c., at Shanghai reopened. Boycott of Japanese and British goods. Chang leaves for Mukden owing to prevalence of mutinies. Demonstration in international settlement at Shanghai by crowds of strikers. Swatow occupied by Chen Chiung Ming. Further note by the Chinese Government to the Diplomatic Body. Chinese Minister at Washington interviews the Secretary of State.

28 Trade Union Federation of China issues an appeal to World Labour. Shipping strike still effective at Hong-Kong and Shanghai. Naval men used as blacklegs. Chinese members of " Commission of Three " appointed : to act with French, Italian, and American Ministers.

29 A Russian subject, Dosser, arrested at Shanghai. Over 100 " agitators " arrested by Chang's forces at Tientsin. Canton demands apology, &c., from British and French Consuls, and officials refuse to take part in the Commission to investigate the Canton events.

30 Anti-Imperialist manifesto by General Feng Yu-Hsiang (cabled to the *Workers' Weekly*) published in *Daily Herald*. Portuguese troops embark for China. Message from Chinese Railway Workers' Federation to the Trades Union Congress on the Canton events. Protest by Consuls against the " outrages " of the Canton Government.

JULY 1 United States reported in favour of a conference on extra-territorial rights, &c.

2 Demonstrations at Swatow dispersed by British forces. Four Chinese wounded by British bayonets at Chungking. " Moscow documents " produced during trial of Dosser.

3 Postal and hospital workers, &c., join strike at Hong-Kong. Shameen is described as in a state of siege. All Chinese have left. Consultations between Chang and the Powers. " Disturbance " at Kiangsu. Chinese members of " Commission of Three " refuse to take part unless allowed to discuss the whole question.

4 Inauguration of the Provincial Government at Canton. Continued demonstrations against British and Japanese at Swatow.

6 Shanghai electric suppply cut off by British. 60,000 employees in Chinese mills said to be thrown out of work. " Agitators " arrested at Shanghai—one Chinese killed. Omnibus strike at Hong-Kong broken. Demonstrations at Chungking and Kalgan. Attempt to assassinate two members of Canton Government.

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JULY

6 Report of Mixed Commission on Shanghai events; publication delayed by Diplomatic Body. French version appears, stating that firing "entirely unjustifiable," and demanding dismissal of British Chief of Police.

7 Telegraph and dockyard workers at Hong-Kong join the strike. British military demonstration through streets. Further manifesto by Feng.

9 Report that subscriptions for strikers (which have reached in all nearly $1,000,000) are now decreasing, and support of merchants and students is being withdrawn.

Attempt by Canton seamen to isolate Hong-Kong. A few blackleg crews only available.

Powers in discussion at Peking. British reported to be still intransigeant.

10 "Disturbances" at Ho-nan. Governor of Hong-Kong states that strikers will be deported and pickets ("intimidators") flogged.

DENMARK

General Lock-Out

THERE has been a Labour Government in Denmark since April, 1924. This fact is of importance in relation to the great industrial movement which has just come to an end in that country. Since January, 1925, the gatherings of a great storm in Danish industry had been clearly perceptible. In most of the principal industries the collective wage agreements were expiring and negotiations were in progress. The attitude of the employers appears to have been one of caution. They wished to see how far the operation of the Dawes Plan would affect Danish industry, and to use their preliminary negotiations with the Trade Unions as a means of sounding the Union leadership. Indeed, it appeared from minutes of a session of the Employers' Federation Executive—which fell into the hands of the Communist Party—that the employers were unwilling to risk a definite fight on a wage-cutting issue.

Unfortunately, the Trade Unions did not take advantage of this favourable situation. They were content to demand the prolongation of the existing agreement—a sliding-scale agreement which, in view of the rise in the cost of living, would have involved a 3 per cent. wage increase—together with increases in the basic rates of the lowest paid grades of metal workers and general labourers. Certain employers seemed prepared, at one time, to concede these demands, though grudgingly. However, the more influential among them, taking heart from what they conceived to be the lack of fighting spirit in the Union leadership, returned a point blank refusal. The employers in the metal industry came into the open with a demand for a 10 per cent. wage cut: and on March 18 they locked-out their workers, who had refused to accept an arbitration award. On the same date a partial strike of general labourers took place, bringing the number on strike or locked-out to 42,000.

A conference of Trade Union delegates was summoned which, under the strong pressure of the leaders of the Trade Union Federation, and particularly Mr. Madsen[1] its Chairman, agreed to the new arbitration proposals which the

[1] Mr. Madsen represents Denmark on the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

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Executive of the Federation had worked out in conjunction with the employers. These proposals were on a ballot vote accepted by seventeen Unions and rejected by five[2]. The seventeen Unions, however, had a membership of only 30,000, while the five Unions—including the important General Workers' Union with its 80,000 members—numbered 110,000. Accordingly the employers decided on a general lock-out, which took effect on April 21. The number of workers out now reached 150,000, approximately half the organised workers of Denmark.

At this stage in the struggle the significance of the Labour Government manifested itself. For it became clear that the majority of the Trade Union leaders, who are of course Social-Democrats, were chiefly concerned in using arbitration or conciliation as an instrument for stopping the strike at all costs. They were unwilling to embarrass "their" government. In this policy they were strongly opposed by Mr. Lyngsie, President of the General Workers' Union, whose members were most intimately concerned in the lock-out. At a mass meeting of the Copenhagen Trade Union executives on April 22, Mr. Lyngsie criticised the policy of the Trade Union Federation, and particularly of Mr. Madsen, in the strongest terms, adding thereto a condemnation of the government organ, *Social-Demokraten*, for its anti-strike attitude. The meeting unanimously accorded Mr. Lyngsie its support.

To the continual pleas from the Government organs and the Trade Union leaders to the workers to regard the interests of the community as a whole, the resolution voted at this meeting returned this answer :—

> We are asked to have regard for the community. We reply that if the community asks this of us, it should also have regard for our families and should stand beside us in the fight that our exploiters have forced on us.

By the time the Trades Union Congress met (May 5 to 7), Mr. Lyngsie seems to have retreated somewhat from his intransigent position. The Congress agreed to re-open negotiations. Meanwhile the dockers and transport workers had struck, very much against the will of the Union leaders, except Mr. Lyngsie. Danish export trade—which, consisting of agricultural produce, is chiefly with England—thus came to a dead stop. Attempts to carry on by blackleg labour (young farmers "volunteering" to load ships) broke down owing to the strict embargo on Danish ships declared here by the Transport and General Workers' Union with the assistance of the N.U.R. On June 1, the seamen came out. Negotiations for settlement had, meantime, been continuous and protracted.

The indefatigable efforts of the Government conciliation officials were at length crowned with success. Agreement was reached on June 7, and the lock-out was raised next day. Under the new agreement the sliding scale, with a half-yearly adjustment of wages to the cost of living index, was retained. This involved the 3 per cent. wage increase originally demanded and it was further stipulated that there should be an hourly minimum wage rate of 1.05 kronen (about 1s.) for general labourers. That this success is not quite the overwhelming victory that has been proclaimed in some quarters is witnessed by the fact that the Executive of the General Workers' Union only

[2] These figures are also given as fifteen and seven.

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accepted the new agreement by twenty-six votes to seventeen. Also, the new rates for general labourers (about 60 kronen a week) are, on the showing of the employers themselves, below the subsistence level (the subsistence figure admitted by the employers was 72 kronen a week).

Now that the dispute is over, the *Social-Demokraten* has revealed the interesting fact that the Labour Government had, in the last days, made all the necessary preparations for the introduction of a provisional compulsory arbitration law. This would have been immediately applied to the lock-out.

GERMANY

Communist Tactics

THE election of Field-Marshal von Hindenburg as President[1] has faced the German Communist Party with an entirely new situation. This situation was considered at the meeting of the Party National Council on May 9-10. The Central Committee of the Party put forward a series of criticisms of the Party's political line and activity, which may be summarised as follows :—

(1) The Party was too late in realising the monarchist danger and underestimated its importance.

(2) The Party has not succeeded in thoroughly exposing the rôle of the German Social-Democratic Party, and the other so-called "Republican" Parties as the panders of monarchism, and in winning the masses from them. In particular, it has not carried on the campaign for Trade Union unity with sufficient energy.

(3) The tactics of the Party are not sufficiently elastic; it has been too slow and awkward in adapting itself to altered situations.

(4) "Right" and extreme "left" deviations have not yet been fully overcome: nor has the theoretical clearness and uniformity, the *sine qua non* for united revolutionary practice, yet been completely attained.

(5) The Party does not yet understand how to concentrate its whole work and how to carry it through in a co-ordinated manner in all spheres.

There was a "left" minority in the National Council with 15 votes out of the total 50, which did not accept these criticisms.

The following are extracts from the resolution that was passed :—

OUR TASKS

(1) In the forefront we must place the extra-parliamentary struggle against monarchist reaction and against the capitalist offensive . . .

(2) We must fight for the democratic rights of the working class against reaction . . . We must show that bourgeois democracy neither renders possible the peaceful transition to Socialism, nor provides a safeguard against reaction, but in comparison with an absolutist monarchical form of State it renders easier the class struggle, because it permits of class questions being raised in an open and undisguised form . . . The decisive question, however, is not the form of State but the relations of power of the classes . . . The fight against monarchist

[1] For the Election results, *see* THE LABOUR MONTHLY, May, 1925, Vol. VII, No. 5, pp. 311-12.

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reaction can only be conducted, under the leadership of the proletariat, as the class struggle. We Communists emphasise that we are ready to lead and support this fight against monarchist reaction in *every* form, but without in the least giving up our principles. That is, we recognise that without the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet Republic there can be no stable republic and no guarantee against reaction and monarchy.

(3) In order to convince the masses, who are misled by the "Republican" swindle, of the correctness of these principles . . . we must:—

(a) Propagate in connection with our demands against the Dawes Plan those immediate political demands which contain a minimum programme for defeating monarchist reaction, and for securing the most elementary democratic rights of the working class.

(b) Declare ourselves ready from time to time to co-operate with the Social Democratic Party and the "Republican" Parties, in so far as they fulfil the most elementary minimum demands . . .

MORE CAPACITY TO MANŒUVRE

In a situation in which our Party constitutes the factor which may turn the scale between a "Right" and a so-called "Left" Government, it is entirely permissible, and under certain conditions necessary, to follow such a parliamentary tactic that we render possible the existence of the "Left" Coalition. In so doing we must openly declare with all clearness that this is not because the revolutionary working class has anything better to expect from the Social-Democratic Party and the Republican Parties than from the open monarchists, but solely for the purpose of showing to the masses who still believe in these Parties that they are just as reactionary and hostile to the workers as the open reactionary Parties.

This resolution has been approved by the Executive Committee of the Communist International which has also censured the Minority Opposition. The resolution of the International stresses the urgency of the monarchist danger and emphasises the importance of the capacity to manœuvre against it; it states, among other things:—

> Whilst not relaxing the criticism of Social-Democratic leaders . . . the German Communist Party should at the same time assume a different attitude with respect to the Social-Democratic workers, emphasising its readiness to give up much which divides the Communist Party from the Social-Democratic workers in the interests of the joint struggle against the monarchist peril . . . the main thing is closer contact with the Social-Democratic workers in the factories, and not parliamentary combinations.

An example of the sort of "republican minimum demands" referred to was contained in the open letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to the Executives of the German Federation of Trade Unions and the Social-Democratic Party, written the day after Hindenburg was elected. These demands were:—

(1) Immediate dissolution of the monarchist *Reichswehr*: dissolution of monarchist organisations.

(2) Immediate repeal of all measures for keeping the police in barracks, and maintaining them on a military basis.

(3) Abolition of the *Technische Nothilfe* (Strike-breaking Corps).

(4) Immediate confiscation of all property of the former German ruling houses, as well as the expulsion of their members from German territory.

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(5) Immediate dismissal of all monarchists from the Civil Service.
(6) Immediate abolition of the Supreme Court at Leipzig and liberation of all working-class political prisoners.
(7) Immediate introduction of an inviolable eight-hour day.
(8) Abolition of all taxes that oppress the masses.

INDIA

North West Railway Strike

THE lock-out and strike of workers on the North West Indian Railway is the biggest strike that has taken place in India since the general exodus of the Bombay mill workers in the spring of 1924. It has involved a larger number of workers than even the protracted strike on the East Indian Railway in the early part of 1922, and is therefore the biggest railway strike that has yet occurred in India.

The immediate occasion for the strike was the dismissal of a prominent member of the North Western Railway Union, a worker at the railway sheds in Rawalpindi in the extreme north of the Punjab. An appeal to the management led to the lock-out of 1,200 men on March 28. The Railway Agent at Lahore refused to allow of any representations being made to him by the North Western Railway Union and at various places on the line workers began to come out in sympathy with the Rawalpindi men. As all offers by the Union to open negotiations with the Railway Management were repulsed orders for a general strike were issued for April 10.

An immediate response was forthcoming, but as usually happens in India owing to the absence of organisation, the strike was only partial and workers at different stations came out independently and at different times. By the end of April some 20,000 men were affected. The strike continued in varying degrees in different centres throughout the whole of May and June. Estimates of the total number of workers involved are conflicting, the Railway Union putting it at 40,000, while the Railway Management do not admit that more than 20,000 of the total staff of 100,000 were concerned.

The widespread nature of the strike and the stubbornness with which it has been maintained, in spite of the unyielding resistance of the Railway Management, is evidence of keenly-felt underlying grievances. The demands of the men centre round :—

(1) Recognition of the Union.
(2) An all-round 25 per cent. wage increase.
(3) Abolition of arbitrary fines and other punishments.
(4) Investigation of other grievances.

A complication exists in the existence of a second union which is recognised by the Management. This body, calling itself the "North Western Railway Recognised Union," apparently arose by a secession from the original union with the sympathy if not at the direct instigation of the employers, and has acted as a tool of the latter and has condemned the strike. The original union was founded several years ago largely owing to the efforts of a European worker,

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Mr. Miller, who, like the President and Secretary, still retains his original position on the Executive Committee. The other union seems to be definitely a yellow union, a device more than once adopted by Indian capitalism, a notable instance being the bogus union formed in order to smash the Bombay Tramwaymen's Union two years ago.

The Railway Management and the Government has throughout categorically repulsed any attempts at mediation in the strike and has demanded nothing less than unconditional surrender. Police and soldiers have been much in evidence but there have been no violent outbreaks. Of the repressive measures adopted by the Management, one which has caused the most hardship has been the eviction of railway strikers from their quarters on the Company's property, to make way for blacklegs recruited from the agricultural population. It is interesting to note that one of the workers thus evicted was a European engine driver, and he filed a suit against the Railway Agent to restrain him from eviction and was granted a temporary injunction. In the majority of cases, however, the victims have been illiterate, low-paid Indian workers, and they have had no redress.

The Railway Union issued an appeal to the European and Anglo-Indian drivers, guards and station staff asking them to give a day's pay and to lend their support to the strike. This was countered by an appeal from the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European Association of India who asked members of that community to remain loyal and hoped that not a single one would support the strike. The Anglo-Indian Association of Lahore responded with an assurance that they were "loyal to the core." The Anglo-Indians and Europeans mostly occupy higher posts on the railway and always receive higher pay and other privileges.

Efforts at conciliation or mediation in the strike have proved fruitless, all being brusquely refused by the Railway Management. On June 1, the All India Railwaymen's Union Federation appealed to the Chief Commissioner of Railways for the appointment of a Conciliation Board, but without result. Shortly afterwards a renewed attempt was made by the All-India Trade Union Congress at a specially convened meeting of its Executive Council.

The Government of India replied with a telegram declaring that it considered intervention by the Trade Union Congress "undesirable," adding—

> "You will appreciate the fact that the present strike is disowned by the recognised union with which the Railway Administration has always tried to work."

The Trade Union Executive appointed its chairman, Mr. C. F. Andrews, to make an inquiry in the Punjab and if possible to begin mediation. The Railway Administration, however, continued adamant and by the end of June the strike was called off, most of the railway workers being starved into submission. The strike thus ends in total defeat for the workers, but even during July many of the railwaymen who had gone back to their village homes did not return to apply for work.

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POLAND

Stabilisation and Anti-Trade Union Campaign

POLAND, like other countries in Central and Eastern Europe has been passing through a period of capitalist "stabilisation." This means, to the bourgeoisie, a progressive dependence on British and American finance-capital. To the workers, as in Germany and Austria, it means severe unemployment, cut wages, and lengthened hours.

Thus within recent months the official returns of unemployed workers give a figure of over 180,000. Of these 15,000 had their unemployment benefit stopped in April last; this process has continued, so that it is estimated that soon only a quarter of the total number unemployed will receive benefit. This latter is at the rate of 30 to 50 per cent. of wages (see below).

Short time—three to five days work per week—is also very common. The eight-hour day has been attacked with such success that the ten-hour day is being worked in the Upper Silesian coalfield, and the tramwaymen are working a nine and a-half hour day. Average daily wages vary from 3 to 4 zloty (2s. 3d. to 3s.) and in the country they have even dropped under 2 zloty (1s. 6d.). The subsistence minimum is stated to be over 6½ zloty (5s.) in Warsaw and in the provinces 5 zloty (4s. 6d.).

The fierce persecution to which the class-conscious elements in the Polish working-class movement have long been subjected is notorious[1]: for years the Communist Party has been illegal. At the present time the need for tiding Polish capitalist industry through the economic crisis of "stabilisation" has caused this persecution to be directed with particular intensity against all left wing Trade Unions and the Minority Movement in the Trade Unions.

For instance, the Builders, Leather and Tobacco Workers, Clerical Workers, and Tailors Unions have been closed down—both their central organisation, and all their branches in Warsaw and the Provinces. Trade Union secretaries and officials are arbitrarily arrested. Trade Union offices are ransacked, and all books, papers, documents and printed matter confiscated by the police. At Bialystok, where the police closed down the local Trades Council, and nine of its affiliated Union branches, they even removed from the Council's offices the portraits of Karl Marx and the two well-known Polish poets Mickiewicz and Slowacki. The offices of suppressed Unions are simply kept under lock and key by the police.

There is also a draconic censorship of the Trade Union Press.[2]

The mainspring of the attack on Trade Unionism is the secret political police (the so-called *Defensive*). This organisation, akin to the Tsarist *Okhrana*, exercises entirely arbitrary powers in the suppression of Trade Unions and the persecution of Trade Unionists: and where the *Defensive* leads the Law Courts and the other State authorities obediently follow.

[1] *See*, for one of the most striking recent examples, the Lantzutzky Case, THE LABOUR MONTHLY, April, 1925, Vol. VII, No. 4, Pp. 245-248.

[2] For a remarkable facsimile of a censored Trade Union paper, *see* the July number of *Trade Union Unity*.

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The Central Committee of Polish Trade Unions, together with the executives of the principal Unions, have done nothing to oppose this policy of wholesale persecution and suppression. Indeed, these bodies, which are controlled by the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) have actually assisted the police in their work. It has been the practice of certain organs of the Socialist Press to publish "denunciations" of left-wing Trade Union organisations. These "denunciations" have their inevitable consequence in police action. This was the case with the Warsaw Leather Workers' Union, noted above.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee, M. Zulawski, who is also a member of the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions, replied to a delegation of the closed-down Tailors' Union that sought his assistance :—

"If I had enough power, I would close your Union myself."

It was the same M. Zulawski who, by formally dissolving the Bialystok Trades Council, and informing the authorities of his action, paved the way for the suppression of that body (see above).

There appears to be some justification for the claim that the P.P.S. Trade Union leadership is making use of the police terror in order to maintain its own domination of the Trade Union movement, more especially in view of the Third Trades Union Congress, which has now (June) taken place. Even Union amalgamations are used to further this aim of the right-wing leaders. This was the case in the amalgamation of the Paper Workers' Union with the Chemical Workers. Protests from the Warsaw district of the Paper Workers led to its expulsion from the Union. Another singular instance occurred last year with the amalgamation of two tobacco workers' unions. Though the left-wing had a clear majority in these Unions, M. Zulawski refused to accept the left-wing nominee as General Secretary. When the amalgamation had been achieved he ordered the removal of the left-wing secretary of the Poznan district of the Union.

It should be noted that the Polish Socialist and Trade Union leaders are extreme opponents of international Trade Union unity and of the policy pursued, in this matter, by the British General Council. The almost frenzied outbursts of their Press, particularly their central organ, the Warsaw *Robotnik*, provides ample evidence of this.

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BOOK REVIEW

ITALIAN CO-OPERATION

The Co-operative Movement in Italy. By E. A. Lloyd, B.A. Fabian Society and Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d.

THIS book represents an endeavour to give an objective account of the various aspects of the co-operative movement in Italy. In spite of their numerical preponderance, consumers' co-operative societies are excluded from treatment on the ground that they do not, in Italy, differ in any important particular from similar organisations, in other countries.

The author's method is the characteristic Fabian one of recording facts without comment, in pursuance of the argument that by such means an unbiassed picture is presented to the reader, who can then form his own conclusions. It is almost needless to say that this aim is not achieved, for, though facts alone are submitted for our observations a selection has of necessity first been made among the multitude available ; accordingly, we are told only of those things which Mr. Lloyd regards as significant. The Fabian effort to give us light instead of heat actually results in our vision being obscured by a smoke-screen which conceals the essential features of the subject under review.

The extensive development of co-operation in Italy is well-known, and the potentialities of the movement as an aid to the working class in their struggle for emancipation can scarcely be exaggerated. We say "potentialities" advisedly, for it is by no means certain that the co-operative movement in certain of its aspects is not a reactionary, rather than a revolutionary, influence. The cordial support given to the movement by the Italian bourgeois governments in the past is an indication that the enemies of the workers have had hopes of using it for their ends. Mr. Lloyd quotes an Italian government report as saying :—

> The co-operative societies can guarantee tranquillity and security in the carrying out of works. They serve as an insurance against strikes.

Such words should serve as a danger signal to those friends of co-operation who cannot see it as a weapon in the class struggle. Mr. Lloyd finds one of the main weaknesses of the movement in its predilection for politics. But, in fact, unless co-operation enters the political arena definitely as a force on the side of the workers, it ceases to have any fundamental significance or *raison d'être.* If Mr. Lloyd denies that co-operation has, as its highest function, to serve as a support of the revolutionary working class and as a basis of the post-revolutionary industrial system, then he must restrict its outlook to that of a palliative organisation softening the asperities of capitalism, that is, making it more acceptable to the workers. It is perhaps as well that Mr. Lloyd has so little to offer by way of prescription for the ills of Italian co-operation, for even his diagnosis is wrong.

L. W.

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The Mind of a Diehard. A Defence of the Social System. By Ambrose Hoskins. (The Labour Publishing Co. Ltd. Cloth 5s. Paper 3s. 6d.)

The Road to World Peace. A Federation of Nations. By Oscar Newfang. (G. P. Putnams, 12s. 6d.)

The English Agricultural Labourer. 1300-1925. By Montague Fordham and T. R. Fordham. (Labour Publishing Co., 1s.)

The Co-operative Movement in Italy. With special reference to Agriculture, Labour, and Production, a Short Study. By E. A. Lloyd, B.A. (The Fabian Society and George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 4s. 6d.)

he District Auditor. An Old Menace in a New Guise. By W. A. Robson. (Fabian Society, Fabian Tract No. 214, 1d.)

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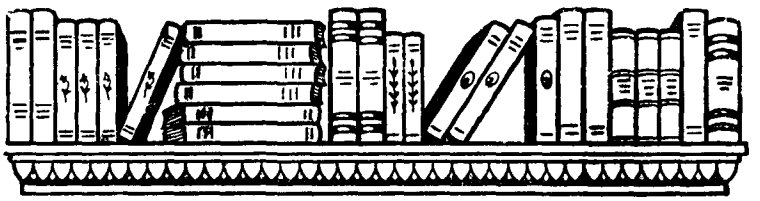

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